The COMMUNIST

VOL VI. APRIL-1927 NO. 2.

In This Issue

C. E. RUTHENBERG
By Max Bedacht

TOWARD ANOTHER WAVE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE
By Jay Lovestone

WITH MARX AND ENGELS —THE CIVIL WAR IN NORTH AMERICA

290

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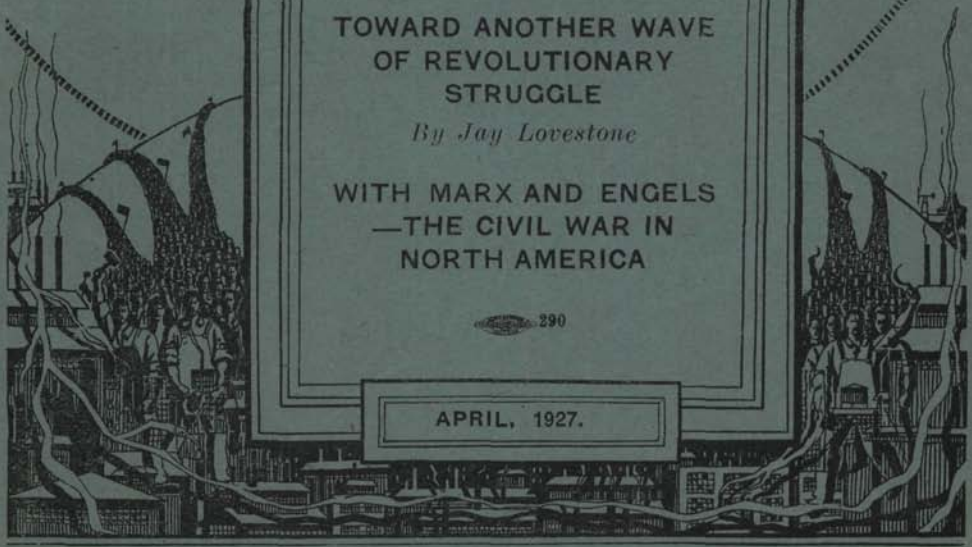

APRIL, 1927.

A theoretical magazine for the discussion of revolutionary problems published by the Workers Communist Party. 25c

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The Communist

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

Make all cheques, money orders payable to: Address all correspondence; Make remittances for bundle orders, advertizing, subscriptions, donations to no other address but: The Communist, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

Single copies, twenty-five cents—yearly subscriptions, two dollars; foreign, two fifty. Printed monthly by the Daily Worker Publishing Company, 1113 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill. Entered as Second Class Matter November 8, 1924, at the post-office of Chicago, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. VI. April, 1927 No. 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

C. E. RUTHENBERG 67
By Max Bedacht

TOWARD ANOTHER WAVE OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE 72
By Jay Lovestone

THE UNITED STATES AND TACNA ARICA 76
By Ella G. Wolfe

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NICARAGUAN SITUATION 80
By G. A. Bosse

WINNING THE YOUTH 84
By Herbert Zam

WITH MARX AND ENGELS—THE CIVIL WAR IN NORTH AMERICA 92

THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR RUBBER 113
By Leon Platt

THROUGH THE MONTH 120

REVIEWS

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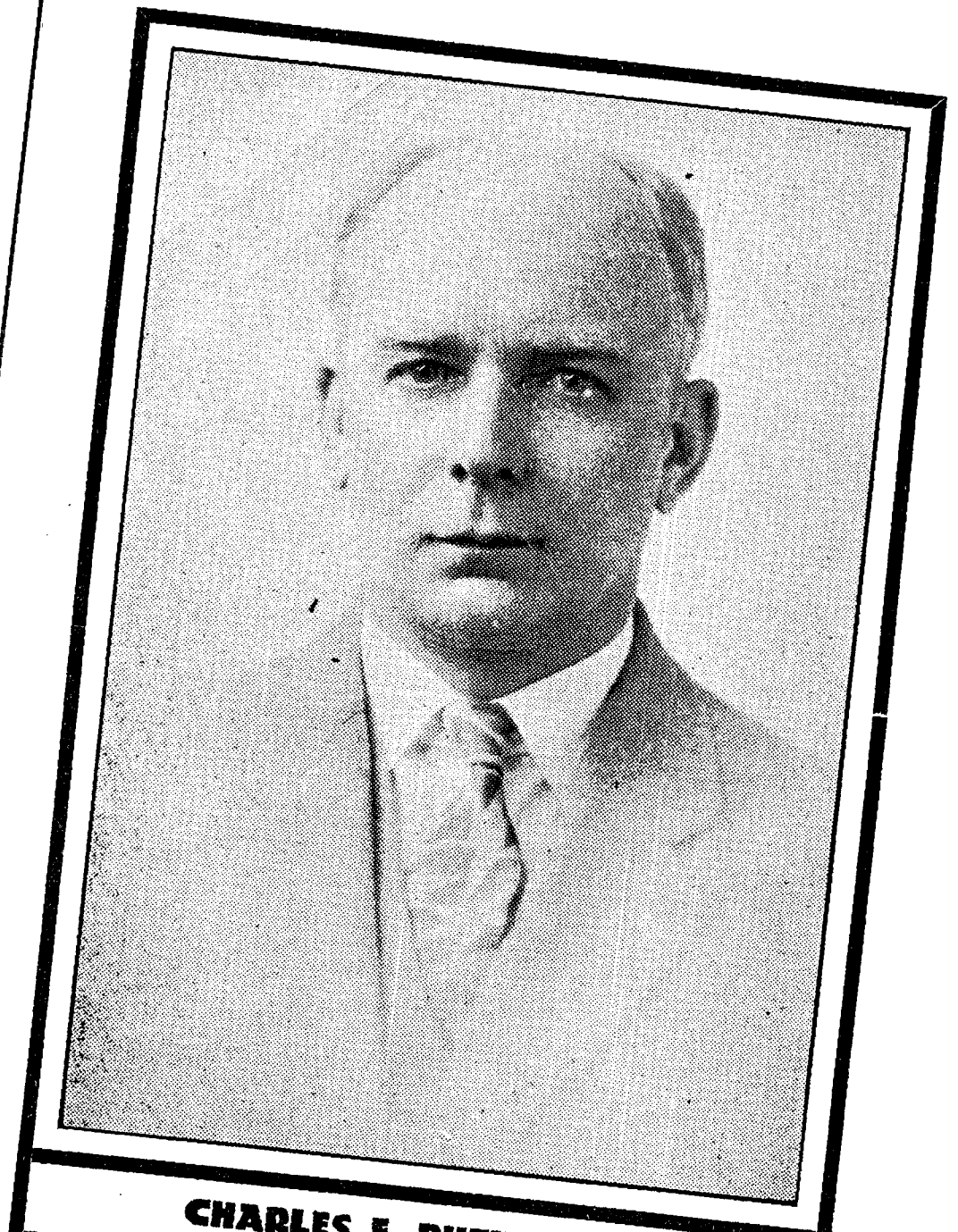

CHARLES E. RUTHENBERG

July 9, 1882

March 2, 1927

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C. E. Ruthenberg

By MAX BEDACHT.

IN the death of Charles E. Ruthenberg the American working class lost its most conscious, its most courageous and its ablest leader. There may be, or may have been, individuals who, at times, played a more spectacular role in the militant labor movement of the United States than Ruthenberg did. But there is none whose activities were more continuous, more logical and more persistent in the direction of the revolutionary liberation of the working class.

The American revolutionary proletarian movement traveled a road all its own; it traveled a road vastly different from that followed by its European contemporaries. On account of the doctrinarianism of its apostles socialism in America was more of a school of social philosophy than a guide to proletarian action. Because of the open road which American capital had before it for its development it could storm along this road with the least possible positive pressure on the working class. While relatively the American worker is the most exploited in the world, positively he enjoys the highest standard of living. The conditions which made this possible made also possible the comparatively higher effectiveness of economic struggles of American workers as compared with the economic struggles of the German and French workers, for instance. This condition was not conducive to the development of political consciousness with the American workers. All these peculiarities of American capitalism created the queerest ideas and theories about the applicability of socialism in America, and, most important of all, about "Americanized" socialism.

The laws which Marxian analysis shows governing the existence and development of capitalism are also operating in America. But American capitalism found different historical and physical conditions for its existence and its development than were found by capitalism in Europe. Marxism does not deny these differences; but it demands their analysis as a prerequisite of correct policies of a Marxian Party of the workers. Instead of that the American socialist movement was fearfully deficient in the application of the Marxian analysis of capitalism to specific American conditions. This was so in the seventies and eighties, although in those days both Marx and Engels in their correspondence with American friends urged and pleaded "Americanization" of the movement. Even at the height of the socialist movement in America this deficiency was never rectified.

Since the American socialist movement did not make any serious attempts to adapt itself to the specific proletarian movement of the country, it is no wonder that petty bourgeois ideology succeeded so well in "adapting" (falsifying) Marxism to its economic needs. Thus it came about that at the height of the socialist movement in America it was not dominated by proletarian leaders, but by the ideologists of the petty bourgeoisie, by the muck rackers. The increased economic pressure which the trustification of production created against the petty shop keeper and small enter-

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preneur was for them the outstanding shortcoming of capitalism. Opposition to these ills, however, was paired with suspicion against the proletariat and with fear against revolutionary methods of struggle.

Out of this condition grew the conflict within the Socialist movement for a party of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, a battle, which finally culminated in the formation and development of the Workers (Communist) Party. **This conflict and its gradual solution was the process of proletarianization—and, therefore, Americanization and Bolshevization—of the socialist movement in America.**

Charles E. Ruthenberg was the personification of, and, at the same time, the leader in this development.

The socialist movement attracted many men and women active in the class struggle. Socialism supplied them with a theory about the complex problems of the class struggle. However, they did not accept socialism, Marxism, but adapted it to their varying degrees of understanding and militancy. A variety of theories resulted, all parading under the application "socialism". All these theories stuck to the surface. They explained, but did not analyze. They raised the hope of a vague but glorious aim; but they did not supply an understanding of the means with which to realize it. They all had in common that they conceived of the working class as a pariah which needed a savior; but they could not conceive of the working class as a revolutionary power playing its own savior. They had pity with the working class; but they had no confidence in its revolutionary powers and did not believe in its historic mission.

Little wonder, therefore, that the unwillingness of the proletarian masses to accept these "socialists" as their saviors resulted in an air of hopelessness with the saviors themselves. Uncertain of their own aim they could not supply an aim to the masses. Unclear in their own understanding they could not become a source of understanding for the masses. Unwilling themselves to fight, they could not instill the masses with a spirit of struggle. Dejected themselves they could not inspire the masses with self-confidence. These "leaders" saw themselves in the role of saviors. The unwillingness of the masses to accept them as such created in them the conviction that the masses do not want to be saved and that all is hopeless.

This development manifested itself first within the socialist movement in form of an organized attack against the proletarian element and against proletarian ideas of struggle against capitalism. In 1912 the Indianapolis convention of the Socialist Party gave birth to an article against proletarian mass action, dressed up in an anti-"direct" action paragraph. Good militant proletarian elements were thus driven from the party. Their Marxian understanding was not clear enough to see the need of—and therefore the necessity of a fight for a revolutionary political party. From the purely parliamentary actionism of the S. P. they swung to the equally wrong anti-political actionism of syndicalism.

But there was a revolutionary Marxian kernel in the S. P. And C. E. Ruthenberg was an outstanding leader of this kernel. The fight for a revolutionary party was taken up. C. E. Ruthenberg never lost his confidence in the revolutionary power of the working class. And he never lost sight of

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the need of a revolutionary party to lead the masses in the development and in the exercise of their revolutionary power. Ruthenberg's persistent activities in the direction of the formation of such a party of revolutionary leadership are his greatest and most valuable contributions to the revolutionary movement of the United States.

In these years of struggle for a revolutionary proletarian party in America many fell out of the ranks. Many deserted to go openly over to the enemy. Others gave up hope of success and "retired". Others again "tried" new methods and new movements for the emancipation of the proletariat. Again others acquired an air of cynicism toward the working class and finally landed on the rocks of a social fascist philosophy and tactic. In this development, though it was directly away from the revolutionary movement, they kept pace with the development of the Socialist Party itself.

Amidst all these trends, all these groupings and regroupings, amidst all these movements away from socialism and from a revolutionary proletarian Marxian party in America, C. E. Ruthenberg stood his ground and exerted his energies in the direction of the formation of such a party.

The world war came. The big bourgeoisie of the country did everything to create a wave of patriotic paroxism on which they desired to sail their imperialist profit ship. This was the hour of test for the American revolutionists and their party. Many, all too many, fell by the wayside. Some out of conviction, for social chauvinist reasons, others for pure cowardice, became mouthpieces of imperialism. This hour found at the head of the Socialist Party as its responsible leaders men like Victor Berger, a pro-German, Morris Hilquit, who covered his apologies for the monumental treachery of the German Democrats on the 4th of August under a mask of pacifism, Job Hariman, an American patriot—various tendencies, but all united in the desire to prevent proletarian anti-war action. In this situation, C. E. Ruthenberg lead the revolt of the revolutionists in the S. P. against the social traitors. So formidable was this revolt in the special convention of the party in St. Louis that the German-Pacifist-American-patriots finally even acquiesed in a ringing anti-war declaration. Opposition to it would have swept them out of the party. Acquiesence made possible for them to retain leadership and thus made possible the realization of their hearts' desire, the sabotage of the anti-war resolution.

But that was the last act of treachery perpetrated by these "socialist" leaders without a consciously organized and directed opposition by the revolutionary proletarian element in the movement. Opposition to these social traitors was then the form of struggle for a revolutionary proletarian party. This struggle developed and presented the revolutionary leadership of C. E. Ruthenberg in its full value.

In his years of activities in the city of Cleveland, Ruthenberg had made the socialist movement of this city a movement of the masses. Indefatigable in strikes, ever active in actual organization work for the trade unions, which earned him honorary membership in the I. L. G. W. U., C. E. Ruthenberg won the confidence of the great masses of workers in Cleveland. The city of Cleveland was one of the few places where the socialist movement was a movement of the working and struggling masses themselves, the Party and its local leader, Ruthenberg, giving initiative and leadership to them.

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After complete failure of an attempt to railroad him on a charge of accessory to murder, Ruthenberg, after leading some magnificent anti-war demonstrations, was sent to jail for one year for obstructing conscription.

Though incarcerated Ruthenberg continued his connection with and his leadership over the revolutionary movement. Had this movement received new inspiration from events in Russia in November, 1917, so certainly did Ruthenberg receive new inspiration through the Russian revolution by a better and clearer understanding of the role of a revolutionary party. This better understanding he exercised upon release from prison by leading the attempt to take the Socialist Party from its German-Pacifist-American, patriotic leaders. But the strict adherents of democracy at all costs, the Bergers and Hilquits, preferred to expel three-fourths of the party to submitting to the will of an overwhelming majority of it and by vacating their position of leadership. It was then when the experience which C. E. Ruthenberg had gathered in years of attempts to revolutionize the Socialist Party, served the revolutionary workers of the United States in the work of creating a new party, a Marxian, a Bolshevik party, the Communist Party of America.

Ruthenberg had no illusions about the possibility of forming an effective revolutionary party by a single convention. All the diseases which pestered our infant Communist Party had to be overcome. First, dogmatic leftism raised its head. The question of "systematic and persistent" propaganda of armed insurrection paralyzed the new party. Later came the question of parliamentary action. A correct approach to the trade union work had to be found. Illegalism on principle had to be defeated. The tactic of united fronts had to be assimilated and applied. Centralization had to overcome the organizational and ideological chaos of 19 language federations. In all these stages of ripening of the party, C. E. Ruthenberg was the initiator, the leader, and the most energetic force of accomplishment. Even nearly two years of imprisonment in Sing Sing, for publishing the left wing manifesto in 1919, did not interrupt Ruthenberg's decisive influence and activities in the party. In building and forming the American Communist Party, Ruthenberg was most instrumental in creating an opposite force to that which the S. P. presented in its days. The anti-revolutionary attitude of the S. P. especially in its heydays drove the militant proletarian elements of the labor movement out into the camps of syndicalism, anarchism, O. B. U.-ism, etc. The revolutionary aims and policies of the Party formed under the leadership of Ruthenberg is, on the contrary, a gathering force for all militant elements. It supplied the centrifugal political revolutionary power which attracts real militant enemies of capitalism, and thus insures a further ripening, a further organizational strengthening, and a further Bolshevization of the American Communist movement.

The historic role played by C. E. Ruthenberg makes his death the most serious loss yet sustained by our movement in America. The current contempt for theory among the American workers was not very conducive to the development of a theoretically clear leadership. C. E. Ruthenberg represents the only outstanding example of an American proletarian leader who followed a straight and logical line of revolutionary development. From the moment of his accepting Marxism as a guiding principle he moved

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straight and unwaveringly onward with the work of transforming the Socialist Party into an effective Marxian Party of proletarian leadership. Failing in this he led in the formation of the Communist Party. No vacillations, no try-outs of one and then another Utopian or un-Marxian panacea; that was the line of C. E. Ruthenberg's activities and development as a revolutionary proletarian leader.

Ruthenberg was a Marxist. His Marxism was not of the dusty scholastic kind but that of a fighter. Marxism did not supply him with formulas for discussion but with a guide for action. Because he was primarily a man of action his years of experience gathered in the front ranks of the revolutionary movement in America supplied him with an inexhaustible fund of practical Marxian knowledge. This was a most valuable reserve fund for our party to draw from for the solution of the many complex problems of the class struggle.

Now Comrade Ruthenberg is dead. But the Communist Party lives. That cause lives for which Ruthenberg labored and fought. And the Communist Party must continue to be the leader in the struggle for this cause. Therefore even the loss of the best of our comrades must be made a source of new struggle. In closer consolidation of our ranks, in recruiting of new fighters and in furthering the process of bolshevization our party can hope, in time, to make good the loss we sustained. But time will not and cannot obliterate the service of our friend, our comrade and our leader Charles E. Ruthenberg.

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Towards Another Wave of Revolutionary Struggles.

I.

The Seventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

By JAY LOVESTONE.

THIS was a concretization plenum. Every problem of our Leninist strategy—*of the strategy of the World Revolution*—that was considered in these sessions was examined not only in its general and fundamental sense but was specifically and concretely applied to the immediate objective situation.

To estimate the moment of this plenum historically is to reveal its great significance. Let us retrace the curves of the proletarian revolution since the Bolshevik victory. The course of our struggles has not travelled and does not now move in a straight line. We have our ups and downs; though we always have our trend—the main line, the tendency towards the disintegration of capitalism.

There was one period of an upward curve of the world revolution—the Bolshevik victory in Russia, the revolutionary struggles in Germany, the rising revolutionary tide in Italy and the Soviet sweep to the gates of Warsaw.

Then there was the period of a downward curve in the fortunes of the proletarian revolution. Here we have the collapse in Italy, the rise of Fascism, the defeat of the German revolution and the crushing of the Communist movement in the Balkans, as the outstanding events.

The Seventh Plenum marks a point of departure—a break in the downward curve. The Seventh Plenum leaves behind it this period of the recession of the revolutionary wave. The Seventh Plenum is a sign-post of the better days for the revolution being on hand.

Relative Stabilization of Capitalism.

An examination of the character of capitalist stabilization reveals the accuracy of our historical estimate of the Seventh Plenum. It would be fantastic to deny the fact of the relative stabilization of capital. We need but look at the near attainment of pre-war production levels in certain countries, the extent to which credit and trade have been restored, the balancing of some state budgets and the stabilization of currency in various countries.

Of course, the extent and types of stabilization vary with the different countries such as the stabilization in France differing from that in Germany, in Poland differing from the stabilization in Great Britain.

One cannot understand the real meaning of the present relative stabilization of capitalism without keeping in mind the fact that there are

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fundamental differences between the crises which confront capitalism today and the periodical crises capitalism underwent prior to the war. For instance, there are, amongst the new basic factors, such forces as one: the shift of economic supremacy from Great Britain to the United States. Two, there is the intensified competition amongst the imperialist powers for places in the world market. This intensification only produces further capitalist contradictions. The levelling of production and transportation developments amongst the great capitalist powers only tends to sharpen and intensify the competition amongst these powers for the world market.

It is this latter fundamental economic force which is bringing about a new regrouping and balance of power on the continent of Europe and in the world in general. England's fond dream of having supremacy for herself in the League of Nations and in this way dominating the continent of Europe is smashed. Notice what has happened to the Versailles peace. Witness the rising dissatisfaction with the Dawes plan. Analyze the significance of the sharpening hostilities between Italy and Jugo-Slavia for supremacy in the Balkans—a fight which is really a mask for the struggle between England and France for supremacy on the continent.

It is only against the Soviet Union that the imperialist powers tend to show some signs of unification.

Thirdly, in the consideration of the new features of post war capitalistic economy we must also keep in mind the lowering of the purchasing power of the great masses of the workers. In fact, the present relative stabilization is achieved only at the cost of lowering the purchasing power of the masses as for example, by means of periods of inflation, price increases, mass unemployment and wage cuts. These economic results in turn aggravate the sharpness of the problem of foreign markets for the bourgeois powers. Today, the crises of capitalism are irregular and the fluctuations of crises and turning points are more sharp than prior to the war.

The Breaches in the Capitalist Front.

Besides an examination of these economic changes distinguishing the present period of capitalist economy from the pre-war period, it is also necessary to point out the severe breaches in the entire system of capitalism in order to understand the present relative stabilization. These breaches are serious enough for the proletarian revolution to break through further and hasten the collapse of capitalism.

The chief force making for the disintegration of capitalism is the Soviet Union. We need not go into details at this point as to the development of industry in the Soviet Union, the progress of agriculture, the fact that the Socialist elements in Soviet economy are outstripping the capitalist elements, the role and significance of the foreign trade monopoly and the general growth in the independence of the system of Socialist economy in the Soviet Union, as against the world capitalist environment.

The second breach in the line of capitalist stabilization defense is the decline of the British Empire. The backwardness of British production and exchange methods today, the industrialization of the British dominions and of the colonies, the rise of national revolutionary movements in the colonies

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and the development of American capitalist hegemony, are among the underlying elements making for the British disintegration.

The third break in the structure of capitalism today is the growth of revolutionary China. The Chinese revolution is, next to the Russian revolution, the most important event in history since the war. Lenin has well said that such a revolution is really part of the Russian revolution—it is really part of the whole international proletarian revolution. The significance of the Chinese revolution needs no emphasis. One out of nearly every four human beings is Chinese. The importance of this market for the imperialist powers is immeasurable. The revolutionary developments in China only tend to aggravate the conflicts among the various imperialist powers. Such aggravating further cripples the force of imperialism.

At the same time the rise of the victorious revolutionary Chinese Nationalist movement serves as a source of inspiration to the colonial peoples throughout the world. Already, we find growing unrest of a most serious character in Indonesia.

The Present Movement Estimated.

The Seventh Plenum has correctly estimated the present period of relative stabilization of capitalism as a stage between "two waves of revolution". On the basis of this analysis we can understand that the liquidation of the controversy in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is really a reflex of the liquidation of the un-Leninist pessimism generated in the reaction to the prevoius period of the recession of the revolutionary wave. It is also on the basis of the above analysis that we reject on the one hand, the assumption of the ultra-left that relative stabilization is over, and on the other hand, the assumption of the opportunists who can see only the positive strengthening features of capitalist stabilization but fail to see the weak sides, the breaches, in the capitalist lines leading to the inevitable breakdown of the whole bourgeois system.

Consequently, the primary task of the Seventh Plenum was not merely to analyze the world situation in a formal, general sense but to examine it in a concrete basic manner, country by country on the basis of the prevailing class relations in each country and on the basis of the concrete tasks facing our Party as a result therefrom. Comrade Bukharin's report on the world situation was a masterly contribution in this direction. It simultaneously dealt a blow first to the attempts of the ultra-left to write off the present stabilization of capitalism with one stroke of the pen and secondly to the great dangers of our underestimating the revolutionary possibilities today.

At this moment such slogans as "Into the Unions", "A United Front of the Working Masses", "Trade Union Unity", "Leadership of the Proletariat in National Revolutionary Movements", are no longer issued by us formally or abstractedly. Such slogans are now emphatically concretized by us. Our experiences in the British General Strike and in the Chinese developments enriched us tremendously and have given us an arsenal of revolutionary weapons.

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The General Strike in England.

The only working class organization in England which came out stronger from the general strike is the Communist Party of Great Britain. This shows us what even a relatively weak Communist Party can achieve in the way of leadership of the masses when it correctly applies the united front tactics and systematically engages in trade union work.

One of the outstanding lessons of the British General Strike for us is the effectiveness of the policy of mercilessly criticising reformist leaders even when they still have influence over great masses. The superficial observer would have us believe that such tactics weaken the labor movement. This is all wrong. The increased strength of the Communist Party of Great Britain after the General Strike shows us that such tactics not only do not weaken but actually strengthen the united front and really establish its efficiency as a means of solidifying the ranks of all sections of the working class for decisive struggle.

Our experiences in the British General Strike further show that the building up, the strengthening of the trade unions, is positively advanced by educating the workers regarding the political significance of their economic acts and their need for utilizing every smallest immediate situation to prepare for bigger struggles to overthrow the capitalist class and establish a proletarian dictatorship. It is only those basing their policies on temporary and superficial phenomena, who propose or infer that attempts to educate the workers as to this political significance of their struggles hinders or weaken the trade unions.

The whole science of class warfare and the correctness of our strategy and tactics in this warfare are based on a proper proportion or combination of these two elements just mentioned. The thesis on the English question adopted by the Seventh Plenum indicates precisely to what extent our English Communist Party has succeeded in establishing contact with the masses and at the same time elevating the revolutionary ideology of these masses.

It is only the insignificant minority of ultra-leftists who, in despair at the treason of the British trade union bureaucracy dared propose the liquidation of the Anglo-Russian unity committee. Yet, there were errors made in the activities of the Comintern sections during the British General Strike. Whatever errors the British Party made were corrected mostly by itself. But practically in no country did the section of the Communist International realize or execute sufficiently the Comintern instructions and policies for the General Strike so as to enable it to get real international support for the great coal strike continuing for months after the General Strike. How serious and costly such errors can prove for the international proletariat is obvious to all of us if we imagine such weak response on the part of the various sections of the Comintern in the case of an attack on the Soviet Union by the imperialist powers.

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The United States and Tacna Arica.

By ELLA G. WOLFE.

AMERICAN imperialism sails under the flag of the Monroe Doctrine into the most remote provinces of South America. Urged on by American interests it participates in all of Latin America's quarrels. No political or economic problem in the Western hemisphere is too trivial for the U. S. to attempt to settle. No important problem can be settled without the United States. The white man's burden of American imperialism fights popular uprisings in Latin America; foments revolutions regularly; engages in price-fixing; establishes systems of currency; controls customs; and regulates boundary disputes.

For the past four or five years the agenda of the U. S. State Department has included the long standing quarrel between Chile and Peru over TACNA ARICA. What are these provinces of Tacna and Arica and why are we so busy trying to patch up the quarrel?

Way back in 1873 Peru and Bolivia entered into a treaty of alliance against the aggressive policy of Chile. Peru had accused Chile of seeking a pretext for war in order to secure the rich nitrate deposits of Bolivia and Peru. Chile denounced Peru for intriguing with Bolivia against her interests. When six years later Bolivio imposed an export tax on the products of a Chilean mining company, Chile sent her battleships to seize Antofogasta, Bolivia's only and most important port. Bolivia then declared war on Chile, and a month later Chile declared war on Peru.

After a bitter three year war Chile, due to her superior military and naval forces, better organization of her government, and the greater unity if her people, came out victorious. The war terminated with the Treaty of Ancon (1883) which provided:

1—Peru, to cede unconditionally, to Chile the province of Tarapaca.

2—To grant to Chile, for a period of ten years, the provinces of TACNA ARICA (containing the richest nitrate deposits in the western hemisphere).

3—At the end of the ten-year period a plebiscite to determine to which of the two countries the provinces of TACNA ARICA were to belong permanently.

Bolivia was forced to give up the province of Antofogasta to Chile, thus losing her outlet to the Pacific.

Because almost half of the revenues of the Chilean government come from the export tax on nitrates produced in TACNA ARICA—Chile has repeatedly refused to carry out the plebiscitary provision in the treaty of Ancon. The result has been continues friction and threats of war between Chile and Peru.

Several attempts at arbitration failed; a move to have the dispute settled by the League of Nations was frustrated by former Secretary of State Hughes, who invoked the Monroe Doctrine. Finally it was decided by President Coolidge to hold the plebiscite. This decision was considered a distinct victory for Chile,—because Chile had had over 45 years in which to Chileanize thoroughly the two districts; first by expelling Peruvian teach-

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ers and priests, and by drafting the Peruvian youth into the Chilean army, and in general carrying on a systematic policy of colonization.

Coolidge decided that the plebiscite was to be supervised by a commission consisting of one representative from Chile, one from Peru and an American chairman. The expenses of the plebiscite to be paid by each country, in equal shares, irrespective of the results. And the country receiving the award of the plebiscite was to pay to the other $5,000,000.

The preparations for the plebiscite aroused great bitterness in Chile and Peru. The nationalists of both countries began to adopt extreme measures to insure the victory for their country.

President Coolidge appointed General Pershing to head the Plebiscitary Commission. This appointment was accepted by both countries. When Pershing arrived in Chile he found that the commission was being delayed by alleged violence against Peruvian voters. When Pershing protested against these methods of the Chileans he was attacked by the whole Chilean press and became so unpopular that finally he had to be recalled.

Then Coolidge sent General Lassiter, who after a short while was also recalled and the United States admitted that her attempt to hold a plebiscite was a complete failure.

In an effort to avoid the damage to the prestige of the U. S. for the failure to carry out the plebiscite, Coolidge proposed direct diplomatic settlement, at a conference which was called in Washington. This conference was attended by a representative from Chile, and one from Peru. Secretary of State Kellogg acting as chairman. The American government suggested at this conference that the plebiscite be suspended. Peru accepted the proposition but Chile refused, and the conference terminated unsatisfactorily.

Before summing up the provision of the latest proposal of Secretary Kellogg to Chile and Peru concerning the provinces of TACNA ARICA, let us see why American interests are so much concerned with a policy of peace in the three countries involved—Chile, Bolivia and Peru.

Prior to the war American investments in South America held third or fourth place, but since the war they have jumped to second and in a number of countries hold first place:

BOLIVIA—Since the war American interests have invested heavily in tin mining and in the development of oil resources. In 1912 U. S. interests in Bolivia were estimated at 10 million dollars. In 1920 the U. S. held third place with an investment of 15 millions, France coming first with 20 to 25 millions, and Great Britain second with 17½ millions. Today the U. S. investments are over 80 million dollars of which over 50 millions are invested in tin.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey has a 7,400,000 acre concession of oil lands in Bolivia for 55 years. This concession includes not only the right to extract oil but the right to operate railways, harbors, telephone and telegraph, and other public utilities.

The National Lead Company of the U. S. has acquired for 30 million dollars huge tin properties, including mines and railways. This new company will control 80 per cent of the tin production of Bolivia. The Guggenheim interests own many of the largest tin mines.

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American interests have also secured the concession of building a railway that will connect Bolivia with Northern Argentina.

CHILE—In 1912 the United States had only 15 million dollars invested in Chile. But by 1920 six American companies had invested 119 millions in copper, iron and nitrate mines. Today the total investments of American interests in Chile are estimated at over 400 millions. The chief American investments in Chile are in copper, iron and nitrates.

Copper. The United States ambassador in Chile reporting for an average week in copper production, states that out of 177,000 tons produced 157,000 tons belonged to American investors. Anaconda Copper Co. (Guggenheim) controls the largest copper mines in Chile which are the largest copper mines in the world.

Iron. The Bethlehem Steel Co. has over 15 million dollars invested in the Chile Iron Mines Company which is equipped to produce 1 million tons of iron annually.

Nitrates. American interests are rapidly absorbing this field. W. R. Grace & Co. has a controlling interest in 3 nitrate properties. The Guggenheim interests have bought out the Anglo-Chilean Nitrate Co., which owns the largest nitrate mines in Chile.

PERU. In 1918 American investments in Peru were 50 million dollars. By 1920 the figure jumped to 90 millions, and by 1925 to 100 millions, with Great Britain still in the lead with interests estimated at 125 millions.

The heaviest American interests in Peru are in copper mining. The American Smelting & Refining Co. and Anaconda own some of the largest gold, silver and copper mines of Peru. The Vanadium Corporation of America controls six properties in Peru containing the largest vanadium deposits in the world and producing 92 per cent of the world's total.

The Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey has over 100,000 acres of oil lands, controls over 70 per cent of Peru's production of petroleum and over 90 per cent of the petroleum exports. Great Britain produces only 23 per cent of the petroleum.

(All figures taken from Robert W. Dunn's "American Foreign Investments".)

It is manifestly to the interest of the colossal and ever-growing investments of the U. S. in the countries of Western South America that the mutual conflicts among these countries themselves be reduced to a minimum. With American investors, sometimes the very same investors in each of the countries involved, this is obviously desirable. But then there are so many conflicting circumstances . . . .

The country that is awarded the rich province of Tacna through American influence will be kindly disposed to new requests on the part of American concession seekers. Who, then will get the award?

A few months after the failure of the Washington conference, Secretary Kellogg sent another note to Chile and Peru, in which he suggested that the controversy of TACNA ARICA might be solved by giving the entire disputed territory to Bolivia, in return for payment by Bolivia to both Chile and Peru. The note further provided that the entire district of Arica leading from the Pacific to the interior of Bolivia should be demilitarized. He excluded from this provision the fortress of Morro, which commands the port

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of Arica, and proposed that the fortress be turned into a "lighthouse" under the control of an "international commission."

This note provides neither a practical nor an immediate solution. The aim of it is to mark time. Bolivia accepted the proposal with joy. Chile accepted it "in principle," which means that she will be ready to turn over the provinces to Bolivia after she has extracted all the valuable nitrates. Peru, in her note to Kellogg on January 12, 1927, has categorically rejected his latest proposal telling him that she is not disposed to give away at any price what is rightfully hers.

The provision of the latest Kellogg note that has met the severest criticism in the Latin-American press, is the one referring to the fortress of Morro to be made into a lighthouse under the control of an "international commission." It was pointed out that Morro fortress would be another point of defense for the United States—her "Gibraltar of the Pacific."

The provision of giving Tacna Arica to Bolivia has been explained by the eagerness of American interests to get complete control of Bolivia's tin mines. Tin is an extremely essential raw material for American industry. The United States consumes 60 per cent of the world's tin output, but is still to a great extent dependent upon foreign sources of supply, in great part British. About 40 per cent of the world's tin is mined in Bolivia, still to a great extent controlled by British capital. Kellogg's proposal, therefore, will help American investors secure still more favorable terms in Bolivia.

Chile is not offended by the proposal. After all, the provinces never belonged to her. She feels rather glad that Kellogg did not propose the return of TACNA to Peru because Peru might be more insistent on an early carrying out of such a treaty, but Bolivia is much weaker. At any rate it is easier to make Bolivia see reason, and she can be convinced to wait for TACNA until Chile has exhausted the nitrates therefrom. How can Bolivia refuse to await, when it is her own American friends that are extracting the nitrates in Chile?

Peru's national pride has been wounded. But what is national pride between friends? With such staunch advisers as Standard Oil and Anaconda —who know how to susidize the officials and the press—Peru will yet be convinced that what Kellogg proposed will redund to the peace of Latin America and to the prosperity of American finance.

Peru's unconditional rejection of Kellogg's last note will rest the Tacna Arica controversy for a long time. The universal hostility toward the recent American policy in Mexico and Nicaragua suggests that Chile and Peru may yet turn to a Latin-American tribunal to decide their problem. In fact, a movement has been started in Chile to organize some judicial body with power to pass upon Latin-American controversies. Many of the intellectuals in the Latin labor movement and some of the trade unions are consciously striving to establish some kind of Latin-American bloc to fight the steady encroachments of the Monroe Doctrine.

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Historical Background of the Nicaraguan Situation.

By G. A. BOSSE.

THE historical background of the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua is very important for an understanding of the present situation because almost identically the same events have occurred there time after time. Also, the financial history of the past 15 years is valuable for an understanding of the present situation, including as it does a series of treaty-loans, canal negotiations, etc.

The significance of Nicaragua is twofold: financial and military. Militarily, the proposed canal through Nicaragua is very important, partly because it is more easily defended and partly because the Panama Canal is rapidly nearing its capacity, and a Nicaraguan canal will supplement it commercially. The United States could not afford, from a military point of view, to have any rival power to build a canal through Nicaragua, since the latter route is almost invulnerable from the sea. Aside from this twofold character of the situation in Nicaragua itself, there is a third, and far more important side, namely, the basis for an attack upon Mexico in an attempt to modify its oil and land laws.

Since 1856 no president has been permitted to hold office in Nicaragua against the wishes of American imperialism. In that year an American adventurer named Walker, shot his rival and became president. The U. S. pretended to be neutral, as at present; but 2,500 Americans participated in the revolution, and the American minister aided Walker. At that time Nicaragua was the route to the gold fields of California, and the slave-holding South, which was then faced with the coming Civil War, forced intervention. The greatest banker of the day, Vanderbilt, later crushed Walker, with the aid of the other four Central American States and the Nicaraguan Conservatives, because Walker and the American capitalists who backed him had excluded him.

Till 1893 the Conservatives ruled the country. Regular elections were never held. In that year there was a Liberal revolution, resulting from a dispute over spoils. Zelaya then ruled until 1909, through a clever use of both Liberal and Conservatives. Zelaya introduced "prosperity" through widespread use of concessions to foreigners, which Nicaragua is now paying for. He became the leader of the Latin-American movement, encouraging revolutions as far away as Ecquador and Colombia, but was forced out by the United States when he opposed its policy of expansion.

In 1909 there was a revolution against Zelaya, led by Chamorro, Estrada and Diaz. The cause of it was a loan negotiated by Zelaya with European bankers against the protest of the U. S. government. Diaz was then a $1,000 a year clerk in the employment of an American company. This $1,000 per year clerk advanced $600,000 for the revolutionists which was later repaid. Estrada stated that American corporations had advanced $1,000,000 for the revolution. The American consul cabled the state department that a revolu-

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tion would break out the next day and asked Washington to recognize the new government. Five days later he reported that a provincial government had been established with Estrada at its head, which was friendly to American interests. United Fruit Company steamers openly aided the rebels, with the assistance of the American government representative in Nicaragua.

When the Zelaya government executed two Americans who were caught attempting to dynamite a ship loaded with Zelaya's troops, the U. S. broke off relations with Nicaragua, and dismissed its charge d'affaires at Washington. Zelaya was forced to flee the country and the U. S. continued to oppose his successor, Madriz, who was regularly elected by the Nicaraguan congress. It also broke through the government blockade with arms for the rebels and gave them control of the customs. American marines prevented Madriz from capturing Bluefields, where the rebels were, (exactly as again in 1926-27), and permitted the rebels to fly American flags on their ships as well as prevented the government from blockading any ports. With this aid from the U. S. the Conservative rebels defeated the government and forced Madriz to resign. They plundered the well-filled treasury (until then no loans from the United States had been necessary), inflated the currency, ruined industry and agriculture, and even assumed the debts of both sides. After this a series of loans was forced on Nicaragua by the U. S. in the natural course of events.

In 1910, the Dawson Pact was signed by the Estrada group and the U. S., whereby the U. S. recognized Nicaragua on the condition that Estrada be elected president and Diaz vice-president; also, provided that a loan from the American bankers would be arranged guaranteed by the customs revenues. The U. S. prevented a popular election, and the Conservative assembly carried out the above mentioned pact. In 1911, when the U. S. recognized the Estrada government, the Liberals exposed and published the pact. In April of the same year the assembly adopted a constitution guaranteeing the independence of the country and directed against foreign control through loans. Estrada dissolved it and called new elections. Protests and threats of revolution resulted in his resignation, and Diaz became president. The American minister wired Washington in May that the assembly would confirm Diaz in the presidency "according to any one of . . . the plans which the state department may indicate . . . A war vessel is necessary for the moral effect." The warship was sent. D. G. Munro, writing for the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, writes that if Zelaya had won out, ". . . all of the efforts of the state department to place Nicaragua on her feet politically and financially would have been useless, and the interests of the New York bankers, who had undertaken their operations in the country at the express request of the U. S. government, would be seriously imperilled."

In June, 1911, Secretary of State Knox signed an agreement with the Diaz government (Knox-Castrillo agreement) for a $15,000,000 loan from the American bankers, guaranteed by customs revenues and financial supervision by the United States. The bankers made up the list of customs officials, the U. S. okayed it, and Nicaragua selected its men from the list. It also established American bankers' control of the National Railway. The U. S. senate refused three times to ratify this agreement and it fell through. In July, however, the American bankers signed an agreement with the Diaz

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government for a $1,500,000 loan, giving them 51% control of the National Bank, guaranteed by customs control and a lien on the liquor tax. They were also empowered to appeal to the U. S. to enforce the contract. Knox was to be the arbitrator between the bankers and Nicaragua. The American charge d'affaires kept the assembly in session until the agreement was approved.

When the new Nicaraguan constitution was adopted against the wishes of the U. S., the bankers disregarded it and the state department assisted them in loans which violated it. In 1912, the Liberals demanded an election, but the U. S. refused to permit until the new American-controlled National Bank was established. The Liberals started a revolution in July. The bankers demanded aid and in September marines were landed. Eight battleships and 2,600 troops were sent there, the capital bombarded, the leader of the rebels defeated and exiled, and elections held under the supervision of the American marines. Diaz was re-elected for four years, and the expenses incurred in crushing the rebellion were repaid by Diaz to the U. S. through new loans guaranteed by the tobacco and liquor taxes.

In 1916, marines again manned the polls, and the Wall Street puppet was unanimously re-elected, although the U. S. minister admitted that the Liberals had the bulk of the population behind them. That same year the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty was signed giving the U. S. the right to build the Nicaraguan Canal, with a 198 year lease of a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca and the islands in the Caribbean, off the mouth of the proposed canal. For this Nicaragua received three million dollars, which was to be applied to her debt to the U. S. This treaty practically made Nicaragua a protectorate. Costa Rica and Salvador, which border on the Gulf of Fonseca protested and were sustained on an appeal to the Central American Court of Justice. This court had been instituted by the U. S. as its special tool, but it was dissolved in 1918 when the U. S. instructed Nicaragua to refuse to abide by the decision.

In 1918, a High Commission was appointed to supervise the finances of the country, consisting of two Americans and one Nicaraguan. In 1920, the American bankers forced a nine million dollar loan on the country for the American-controlled railway. In 1923, during the centenary of the Monroe Doctrine, Secretary of State Hughes extended it, from non-interference of European powers in Latin-America, to the right of American interference at its leisure, "to make available its friendly assistance to promote stability in those of our sister republics which are specially afflicted with disturbed conditions." He invoked the Panama Canal as the excuse, stating that its protection was "essential to our peace and security. We intend in all circumstances to safeguard the Panama Canal. We could not afford to take any different position with respect to any other waterway that might be built between the Atlantic and the Pacific" (a Nicaraguan canal). The London "Times" characterizes this as "whole-hearted imperialism" and showed its reflection in the recent actions (1926-27) of Kellogg.

In 1924, Nicaragua had bought back the Pacific Railways (also called the National Railway), and the National Bank, but American control of both continued through the Americans on the High Commission, those on the board of directors of the railway an the American commission to revise the banking laws of the country. In 1921, there had been another uprising, but

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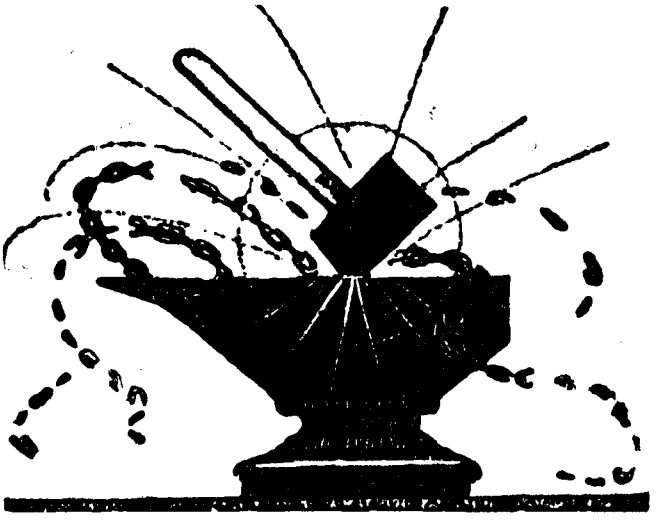
great shipments of arms by the U. S. enabled the Conservative government of Chamorro to retain control, the marines enforcing martial law. In 1921, U. S. marines wrecked the offices of the Nicaraguan paper "Tribune." In 1922, they killed a number of Nicaraguans. In August, 1925, they were withdrawn after 13 years of constant domination of the country, and a native constabulary trained and officered by Americans was substituted. In November, 1924, the Liberal, Salorzano, was elected president over Chamorro by 48,000 votes against 28,000. In January, 1925, Chamorro forced him to resign and became president. Early in 1926, Sacasa led a Liberal revolt against Chamorro and was exiled. The U. S. state department had declared Chamorro unconstitutionally made president, under the 1923 Washington treaties (which provided non-recognition of any president coming to power by armed means).

We thus see how the present situation is simply a culmination and repetition of what has been going on in Nicaragua for the last seventy-five years. While the bankers have controlled financial life of the country, the marines have controlled its political life.



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Winning the Youth.

By HERBERT ZAM.

THE Sixth Plenum of the Communist Youth International held in December, 1926, at Moscow, was able to record, for the first time in many years that the membership, as well as the political influence of the various Leagues was again on the increase. This followed a period during which the membership had remained stable, and this period was in turn preceded by one during which the membership of the various Leagues outside of the Soviet Union had dropped considerably. While the Fifth Plenum was held at a time when the lowest point in the history of the C. Y. I. had already been passed, this Plenum was held when the upward march was already evident, and becoming more rapid. We can therefore safely say that after several years of trial and effort, the Communist Youth movement has succeeded in adapting itself to the conditions existing at the present time, and is carrying on its work successfully under these conditions. The great difficulty experienced in accomplishing this must be accounted for by the fact that the Communist Youth International was founded in a period of revolutionary upheaval—in fact, it was born out of the struggle against the imperialist war, against the betrayal of the revolutionary movement by the social democrats. It not only bore the mark of its birth—this mark it will always bear, and it will guarantee the carrying on of the revolutionary struggle—but it also carried over the character of its activities into the more peaceful era which set in after 1921. The present period is marked by greater participation of the Leagues in the everyday activities of the young workers, greater stability in the work of the Leagues, better relations with the masses of the young workers and with the non-political organizations of the working class youth—in short, the Leagues are beginning to establish themselves as the real leaders of the working class youth and the working class youth is beginning to look to the League as the only organization that actually fights for their interests.

Gains and Losses.

The Communist Youth International as a whole has been growing continually since its organization in 1919. This was due primarily to the tremendous growth of the Russian League, and secondly to the affiliation of new sections. At the same time, many of the largest leagues lost heavily in membership. Thus we have the German League declining from 70,000 in 1923 to 20,000 at present; the Italian League had 35,000 members in Nov. 1919 (at the time of the First Congress of the C. Y. I.) 60,000 in July, 1921 (Second Congress) and 8,000 today. Sweden had 30,000 members in 1919, and 10,000 today. In other countries, the Leagues were almost completely wiped out.

The White Terror.

There are several reasonss that account for the above phenomena. The foremost one is the combined attack of the government, the employers, and in many cases, the Socialists, against our organizations. These attacks al-

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most destroyed many of our Leagues and drove them into illegality. At the present time, out of 40 Leagues, 17 are completely illegal and 3 are semi-legal. A few instances only of the terrors which raged against some of our best organizations can be given. In 1921, the Communist Youth League of Jugo-Slavia, before it was suppressed by the government, had 20,000 members. Today it has but a handful and is completely illegal. The League was suppressed even before the Party as a result of its anti-militarist activities. The Bulgarian League had 40,000 (together with the junior section) at the time it was suppressed by the government In fact, in all the Balkan countries, there existed mass Communist Youth Leagues. These are now all illegal, having been completely suppressed by the capitalist white terror. Many of our best comrades were executed, imprisoned, exiled. At the present time, our Polish League has 2,000 of its 7,000 members in jail. In Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, Lithuania, there are as many members in prison as outside. After the 1923 uprising in Germany, the League there was reduced from 70,000 to 30,000 by the attacks of the government.

Stabilization.

The second cause for the loss in membership of many of our Leagues was the recession of the revolutionary wave and the inability of the Leagues to adapt themselves to the period of slow penetration of the masses. In the years of revolutionary upheaval 1918-21, the young workers, many of them just back from the front, looking for leadership in their struggle against the capitalist system, flocked into the Communist Youth movement, which offered to them this leadership. In those days the Communist Youth Leagues led the young workers in the actual revolutionary struggle—on the barricades and in the streets and factories. The recession of the revolutionary wave, the temporary stabilization of capitalism, brought disillusionment and pessimism into the ranks of the workers, and this made itself felt by the severe loss in membership of our Leagues. Not only did large masses leave our movement because they were no longer carried along by the revolutionary wave, but large numbers were lost as a result of the inability of the Leagues to adapt themselves quickly enough to the new situation. The methods employed in 1919-21, the methods that were suitable for a period of "sturm und drang", were no longer suitable when the period of intense struggle, of barricade fighting, had come to an end. In the period of the partial stabilization of capitalism, the main activity of the League must be the participation in the small, every-day struggles of the young workers, the consolidation of the forces of the League, the penetration into the masses of the young workers; intense educational activity, both among the members, and among the masses of the young workers; the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the young workers. This is slow, patient work, and the Leagues were not able to adopt this work when the change in the situation took place, with the result already explained. The Sixth Plenum was able to record that these deficiencies are now being overcome, and the Leagues are able to report progress in this work.

The third cause of the loss in membership was the passing of the best elements from the Leagues into the Parties at the time when the Parties were in a formative stage This left the Leagues with insufficient and inexperienced functionaries and with the more backward membership. The

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sudden exodus, necessary as it was for the Communist movement, naturally had a bad effect on the Leagues, which suffered from the instability thus created.

Finally, it is necessary to remember that the Socialist Parties, which in most European countries are still mass parties, having control of the trade union movement, devoted great energies after 1921 to the building up of a Socialist youth movement. In many countries, membership for young workers in trade unions, brought with it, automatically, membership in the Socialist Youth organization. Special drives were conducted by the Socialist Parties to enroll the youth in their organizations. The result was that many thousands of young workers found their way into organizations which actually became a hindrance to them in their struggles, simply because the Socialist youth organizations offered them a place for cultural and social activity.

Recent Successes.

Only a few instances can be given to indicate to what extent the Communist Youth movement has now adapted itself to the situation of the partial stabilization of capitalism. This is evident in the first place on the economic field. In the countries of Europe, and the Far East, in the trade unions and in the shops and factories, the Communist Youth Leagues are now the acknowledged leaders of the working youth—not only because they defend the interests of the young workers in the abstract, but because they have demonstrated it through actual activity. Thus, the British League during the general strike, when all other youth organizations practically went out of existence, placed itself at the head of the apprentices and young workers, drew them into the strike and defended them against the right wing trade union leaders who attacked them for having violated their "contracts" by going on strike. In Germany, it is the League which is taking the lead in fighting for the protection of the thoussands of unemployed young workers. Even in our on country, it as the Young Workers' Communist League which was the acknowledged leader of the young workers during the Passaic strike. Our Leagues have learned how to adopt demands which are in accordance with the needs of the moment, how to organize their work so as at all times to retain the closest contact with the working youth.

In the application of the United Front, the International has also had distinct successes. The young workers' delegations to the Soviet Union are but one expression of this. These delegations included representatives of young workers of all political opinions, as well as the non-partisan youth, ranging from members of the Catholic organizations to the Socialists. The example of the situation of the youth in the Soviet Union has drawn these young workers closer to the Communist youth movement. In Germany, the correct application of the United Front has helped to create an opposition within the Socialist Youth organization which now has a third of the membership behind it, and which has issued a program for making the Socialist Youth League a better proletarian organization, including close co-operation with the Communist Youth League in all activities. In Austria, a section split from the Socialist Youth League and joined the Communist youth. In other countries, the most advanced elements from the Socialist Youth organizations are joining our Leagues, individually, and also entire local or-

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ganizations. The United Front has been applied not only to the Socialist Youth, but also to bourgeois youth organizations having large numbers of young workers in their ranks. This was done on a local scale, as in Germany, where local united fronts with Catholic youth organizations were established on the issues of unemployment relief for young workers, against discrimination, and other burning issues. So successful were some of these united fronts, that conflicts developed between the leaders of the religious organizations and the local organizations forming the united front, and the true character of the Catholic organizations was exposed to the young workers within them.

The most successful form of the united front was in the youth conferences held in almost every country—in England, conferences for the unionization of the young workers; in France conferences for the purpose of mobilizing the young workers for the economic struggle; in Italy, conferences against the Fascist terror. At these conferences, thousands and hundreds of thousands of young workers from trade union, political organization and shop were represented. Many of the conferences created unity committees, which form the basis for the unification of the entire working class youth in the struggle against capitalism, and give the Leagues approach to hitherto distant masses.

We and Others.

In their attitude toward other working class youth organizations, the Communist Youth Leagues have undergone quite a bit of change. There was a time when all other youth organizations were looked upon as enemies to be destroyed. Now, however, we have learned to distinguish between organizations which can be made to serve the interests of the working class and those which will always remain enemies. In the first category must be placed trade union youth sections, sport organizations, literary and dramatic organizations, etc. In countries where trade union youth sections exist, our Leagues must help develop them, draw the entire youth into them, and convert them into real organs of struggle against capitalism. Sport organizations are recognized as an essential feature of the working class movement which should be built up in all countries. Other organizations also fulfill certain functions, and can be made serviceable to the workers. Through these organizations, the young Communists can come in contact with and lead thousands of young workers who are not in any other organizations of the working class, and by proper activity, the best elements from these organizations can be drawn into the Communist Youth Leagues.

Last but not least, must be mentioned the efforts now being made to adopt lighter features for our Leagues. As a reaction to the Social-democratic practice of occupying the youth exclusively with social-cultural activity, when our movement was born, we dropped this entirely from our program. We are now convinced that in its proper proportion, not only can this activity not harm, but can be very beneficial to our Leagues. The youth has many-sided interests and broad needs. We cannot fill all the needs of the youth, but we must make an effort to meet them to some extent. The development of these so-called "new methods" of work will go a long way towards overcoming the large fluctuation and turn-over in our

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membership, and will enable us to attract the less advanced elements of the working class youth, which are nevertheless necessary for our movement.

League and Party.

The Sixth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International again discussed the question of the relations between the Leagues and the Parties. This was due to a number of incidents which had occurred in various countries (Poland, Jugo-Slavia, Spain) and which had developed friction between the Leagues and Parties in those countries. The Plenum emphasized that the Leagues are politically subordinated to the Parties, and must follow the Parties. Only in those cases where the Party deviates from the line of the Comintern, or where it refuses to follow the directions of the Comintern, is it permissible for a League to follow a course different from the Party's, to follow the line of the Comintern as against the incorrect line of the Party. In such cases, international discipline is higher than national discipline—the discipline of the Communist International higher than the discipline of the Party of the particular country.

In the relations between Communist Party and Communist Youth League, three main stages have been gone through. The first stage was the period of the formation of the Communist Parties. At that time, the Leagues participated energetically in the organization of the Parties. Its best members and functionaries went into the Parties. In many countries (France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries) the Communist Youth League formed the kernel for the Communist Party. In several countries (Spain, Belgium) the Leagues constituted themselves as Communist Parties. Everywhere, one of the main activities of the Leagues was the struggle against Social Democracy and for the crystallization of Communist Parties. In this period, the Leagues were, to all intents and purposes, young Communist Parties and led an independent political existence. The second stage came when the Communist Parties had already been definitely established, and when the disintegration within the old Social Democratic parties and the revolt of the workers against their betrayers brought large masses into the young Communist parties. Naturally many joined the parties who were in no sense Communists, and who immediately gave expression to their social democratic theories within the Communist Parties. In this period, it became one of the foremost duties of the Communist Youth Leagues to fight against all social democratic deviations, to struggle for the line of the Comintern against all attempts to substitute a different line. The third stage, the present, is marked by well consolidated and stable Communist Parties, by stable leadership which follows the line of the Comintern very closely. The Communist Parties, numerically and in influence, are far more powerful than the Leagues, and are the unquestioned leaders in the class struggles. In this period, the Leagues follow the leadership of the Parties. The Central Committee which does not follow the Comintern is the exception. The Communist Youth Leagues therefore follow the lead of the Parties and support the Parties in all their activities.

We and Our Enemies.

The Sixth Plenum devoted a lot of attention to the question of the

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struggle against opponents. This is the first time that the matter was taken up systematically, and in the future this will undoubtedly be one of the main tasks. The Communist Youth Leagues still have very powerful enemies who exert tremendous influence over the working class youth. When the leagues make serious efforts to reach the young workers and when successes follow, they will undoubtedly come into conflict with these opponents and it is therefore essential that systematic plans for combating them be worked out.

The Socialist Youth International is the most important opponent among the working class youth. The bulk of its membership is made up of young workers. It claims to represent the young workers, but it does very little to fight for their interests. It occupies itself mainly with cultural work, amusements, etc. At the present time the Socialist Youth International has 200,000 members. As explained before, in 1919 it practically did not exist. In 1921 the Socialist Youth Leagues (together with those adhering to the second and one-half international) had 180,000 members. In 1924 this had risen to over 250,000 members and since then has continually dropped. The main strength of the Socialist Youth International lies in a number of small countries and in Germany. Thus for example, the Germany Socialist Youth League has 70,000 members; the Austrian, 20,000; Belgium, 20,000, etc. Thus we see that only in one of the large countries is there a powerful Socialist Youth League and this forms over 1-3 of the total strength of the Socialist Youth International. The other Leagues are distributed in the small countries—Holland, Belgium, Austria, Sweden, Norway. In the more important countries—England, France, Italy, Socialist Leagues either do not exist, or are very weak. On the entire American continent there is a Socialist Youth League only in the United States, and that is very weak and has no influence among the young workers. In Asia there is not a single Socialist Youth League.

The Communist Youth International on the other hand has its most powerful sections precisely in those countries where the class struggle is most intense—Germany, France, England, Italy, China. All the important countries on the American Continent have Communist Youth Leagues. All the important countries of the near and far East have Communist Youth Leagues. In addition we must mention the fact that as a result of the greater activity of our Leagues, their influence among the broad mass of the young workers is far greater than the influence of the Socialist Youth, even in those countries where the Socialist Leagues are stronger numerically.

In contrast to the decline of the Socialist Youth International the C. Y. I. has developed constantly in membership as follows:

First Congress (Nov., 1919)	13 Leagues	220,000 members
Second Congress (July, 1921)	44 Leagues	750,000 members
Third Congress (Dec., 1922)	54 Leagues	800,000 members
Fourth Congress (July, 1924)	60 Leagues	1,000,000 members
Fifth Plenum (Mar., 1926)	*39 Leagues	1,800,000 members
Sixth Plenum (Dec., 1926)	*40 Leagues	2,100,000 members

*—All the Leagues in the Soviet Union, after the fourth congress are considered as one League.

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Of the total membership, almost two million are in the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. This League has 40% of the young workers within its ranks. It is growing at the rate of three thousand members every day. In all negotiations, agreements, contracts, it represents the young workers. It is doing great work in the rooting out of illiteracy. When we compare this achievement with the Socialist Youth Leagues in countries where Socialist government have existed for years, then indeed can we see which organization really is capable of fighting for the interests of the youth.

Our second most important opponent is the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. with their three million members. This organization is important not only because it has within its ranks hundreds of thousands of young workers, and exerts an influence over millions of others, but also because in the Asiatic countries it constitutes the outpost of foreign imperialism and is the most dangerous enemy of the working class in their struggle for liberation. In China, it is the only opponent of the Communist youth organization. Third in order comes the Catholic youth organizations, also totalling three million members and very powerful in the European countries where the bulk of the membership is working class in character.

Methods of Struggle Against Opponents.

The method of combating the Socialist Youth is mainly through the application of the United Front. This shows up to the young workers the inability of the Socialist Youth organizations to really fight for their interests and the unwillingness of the leadership of these organizations to do so. The correct application of the United Front has already led to the formation of powerful oppositions in the strongest sections of the Socialist Youth International. It is now necessary to win these opposition over to the Communist Youth Leagues through the intensification of this work. It was also permissible to apply the United Front to petty bourgeois and religious organizations, but only from below and on a local scale. The basis for such United Fronts should generally be the economic struggle and the aim is to develop the oppositions among the working class rank and file of the organization against the leadership. Certain successes can already be recorded in this work in Germany and Italy. On the whole these organizations must be energetically combatted along the entire front.

International Leadership.

The Communist Youth International as a whole has already developed a stable leadership which follows very closely the leadership of the Comintern and which has tremendous prestige not only among the rank and file of the Communist Youth Organizations but also among the broad masses of the working class youth. This is demonstrated by the ability of the International to mobilize hundreds of thousands of young workers in its struggles. On Liebknecht Day, International Youth Day, and other youth events celebrated on an International scale, hundreds of thousands of young workers demonstrate simultaneously against the capitalist system under the banner of the Communist Youth International. In the U. S. S. R. and in that part

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of China under control of the National Revolutionary Government these are official holidays by government decree. In these countries the entire working class youth follows the leadership of the Communist Youth International. This in itself is sufficient proof that the Communist Youth International is the only youth organization that fights for the interests of the young workers. The many Socialist governments in European countries have never done anything for the working youth and consequently have been unable to win the youth over to the Socialist movement.

The leadership of the Communist Youth International is really International in character. The largest and most important Leagues have permanent representatives in Moscow, participating actively in all the work of the Executive Committee. Not only are the European countries and the United States represented, but also China, Japan, Korea, South America—even Palestine, where the newest section of the International has recently been organized, had a represntative in Moscow for several months. The Russian League, as the largest, best developed, naturally plays the leading role in the International, and all the Leagues are glad to accept the advice assistance and leadership of the League in the country where the proletariat rules.

The stability of the leadership of the Communist Youth International was demonstrated by the unanimity with which it supported the Communist Youth International in the fight against the opposition. Not a single League placed itself on the side of the opposition. Two members of the Executive Committee who supported the opposition, Voyovich, one of the Secretaries of the E. C. and Michalec, the representative of the Czecho-Slovak League were quickly repudiated by their own organizations and removed from the E. C. by the Plenum. At the Plenum there was but a single speaker favoring the opposition.

On an International scale, the Communist Youth International, has definitely established itself as the only leader of the working class youth and as one of the foremost fighters for the emancipation of the working class. The struggles which it has gone through has stabilized it and left it stronger and more determined. The adjustments made at the sixth Plenum and at previous Plenums have made it possible for the C. Y. I. to adapt itself to all conditions and to continue its work under all circumstances.

NOTE:—Comrades who wish more information on the last two Enlarged Plenums of the Executive Committee of the Communist Youth International are referred to my articles in the Workers' Monthly for June, 1926, and the Young Worker, Feb. 1 and 15, 1927.

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With Marx and Engels

Applied Historic Materialism

UNBIASED historical research in the last few decades has given birth to many historical works which completely remove the ground from under the feet of the conventional history of the United States. The pictures of "the fathers of our country" have been painted over. From demi-gods they have been turned into eating, drinking, swearing, lying and cheating mortals. Instead of models for angels they have been shown up as excellent examples for ambitious Tammany ward heelers.

This new and refreshing wind in the realm of American history has given so much joy to many revolutionary workers that they have shown too much willingness to swallow uncritically both, methods and products, of this school of historians.

While we do not wish to deprecate the services of these historians, yet we know that the uncritical acceptance of their methods will in the end deprive the readers of these histories of an all-comprehensive historical concept. It will blind them to the inner connection of things.

Knowledge of the details is indispensable for a complete understanding of the whole. But an analysis of the detail without a careful consideration of the relation of these details to the whole leads to wrong conclusions. it must necessarily lead to a false, or at least distorted picture of the whole.

Such are exactly the results of our new historical school. It digs up the details and proves beyond doubt that "the fathers of our country" were selfish creatures, were moved by selfish motives, were as much devils as they were angels, in other words were mere humans. But in the enjoyment of all of these facts and findings our historians and their disciples forget the historic role these men were playing. In the picture of the personal interest of their villainous heroes they obscure the collective interests of the class to which they belonged or for which they acted. In the picture of the achievements of personal aims of their objects of investigation they forget the social aspects of these achievements and their role in the historic progress of society. In other words they do not see the wood for the trees.

While these historians are giving an economic interpretation of history, yet their method is far from being Marxian. Their method is not historic materialism. It contains too much "materialism" and too little history. It is a vulgarization of Marxism.

Marx never fell into these pitfalls of materialism. He spoke with contempt of the critics of details in the face of historic events of first mag-

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nitude. He always determined the value of the detail by the historic importance of the whole and never belittled the whole because of the shortcomings of a detail. Speaking about the Civil War in America Marx wrote to Engels on October 29, 1862: "Lincoln's acts have all the narrow formalism of the conditions that a lawyer puts up to his opponent. **But this does not interfere with their historic content . . . .**" And later in the same letter he says: "Like everyone else I naturally see the disgusting element in the form of movement of the Yankees; but this I find explicable from the nature of "bourgeois democracy. **In spite of all that, the events over there are of world-shaking importance** and there is nothing more revolting than the English attitude to them."

The American Civil War is subject to the narrow interpretation of our new historical school almost as much as the revolutionary war. Between those who defy Lincoln and those who sneer at the "politician who did not even want to free the slaves" the correct historic valuation of the man and his activities is utterly lost.

A correct understanding of past and present history is indispensable for the maker of future history. The Communist is the maker of future history, or he is no Communist. Therefore, we deem it the duty of our theoretical organ to combat incorrect historical analysis. We can do that best by applying a correct Marxian method in analysing present day historical events. But that seems not enough. Therefore, we intend to acquaint our readers with the way Marx and Engels, the fathers of the method of historical materialism, applied this method. Fortunately, there are many articles, letters and remarks of the founders of scientific socialism dealing with events in American history.

In our department "With Marx and Engels" we will publish, from time to time, such articles and remarks. A careful study of them will help us understand better the history of America and the historic tasks of the American proletariat.

We begin with the reprint of some of this material in the current issue. In order to enable our readers to study Marx and his methods we could not confine ourselves to a mere reprint. Comrade Landy, the Editor of our "With Marx and Engels" Department, who translated and prepared this material, prepared also very valuable introductory notes which will contribute to a better understanding of Marx and his activities as a political writer.

The material takes considerably more space than The Communist reserves for one article as a rule, yet we print it in full. After a careful study of it our readers will thank and not blame us for this.

Max Bedacht.

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The Civil War in North America.

By KARL MARX.

INTRODUCTION.

BY A. L.

In his introduction to the third German edition of Marx's "Civil War in France", Engels justifies the inclusion of two of Marx's International-Addresses on the Franco-Prussian War in the volume 1) on the ground that "these two (addresses)—are distinguished specimens of the author's wonderful gift, first demonstrated in the 'Eighteenth Brumaire', of clearly grasping the character, the significance and the necessary results of great historical events at the time that these events are still being enacted before our eyes or have just come to an end." 2)

Here, in a sentence, is an adequate and fitting characterization not only of Marx's journalistic and "occasional" work in general, but of his articles on the American Civil War in particular. Like the "Civil War in France" and the two addresses on the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, 3) these articles are examples of Marx's penetrating understanding of a great historical event at the time that this event was still being enacted before his eyes.

It was an event which attracted Marx's attention from the very beginning. And the detailed interest with which he followed the developments across the ocean is manifested by his extensive correspondence with Engels during the entire period of the War, not to speak of the brilliant articles which he wrote for the Vienna "Presse" and several of which we are reproducing here in English translation. Marx himself speaks of the events in America as "weltumwaelzend", world-upheaving, 4) having informed Engels before the actual outbreak of the war that in his opinion "the greatest things now happening in the world are, on the one hand, the American slave movement started by Brown's death, on the other, the slave movement in Russia." 5)

In fact, his interest in the American movement preceded the actual outbreak of the Civil War by more than ten years. As early as 1850, Marx not only touched upon the slave question in one of his international reviews for the Neue Rheinische Revue, but pointed out what at the time seemed to him would be the only possible solution of the problem. At that time,

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1) Among other things.

2) "Der Buergerkrieg in Frankreich. Mit einer Einleitung von Fr. Engels. Dritte deutsche Auflage. Berlin 1891. S. 3.

3) Of July and September, 1870 respectively.

4) Marx to Engels, October 29, 1862. "Der Briefwechsel zwischen Engels und Marx". Herausgegeben von A. Bebel und E. Bernstein. Stuttgart 1913. Bd. 3, S. 96. All further reference to the Marx-Engels correspondence is to this edition. Marx also speaks of the American situation as the "titanic American strife", "a mighty movement", etc.

5) Marx to Engels, January 11, 1860. Op. cit. vol. 2, p. 367. The importance which Marx, who at this time, was suffering the severest pecuniary hardship, attached to the American Crisis is further indicated by the following statement to Engels on February 27, 1861: "With the good deal of running about

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when the most important branch of English industry, according to Marx, depended upon the existence of slavery in the South, he saw the possibility of a slave revolt which might destroy the entire previous system of production. The development of the English industry, he felt, would lead to an attempt to break the American monopoly by means of mass production of cheaper cotton in other countries which could now only be done by free labor. 5a) Thus slavery would be made impossible. "That the decisive branch of English industry," he wrote, "rests upon the existence of slavery in the southern states of the American Union, that a Negro revolt in those states can ruin the entire previous system of production, is certainly a very depressing fact for the people who a few years ago expended twenty million pounds sterling for the emancipation of the Negroes in their own colonies. At the same time, however, this fact leads to the only solution of the slave question actually possible, which has now led to such long and violent debates once more in the American Congress. Cotton production in America rests on slavery. As soon as the industry has developed to the point where the cotton monopoly of the United States becomes unbearable, cotton will be successfully produced on a mass scale in other countries. But this can only be carried out everywhere now by free workers. However, as soon as the free labor of other countries supplies the industry with sufficient and cheaper cotton than can be supplied by the slave labor of the United States, then American slavery, together with the American cotton monopoly, will be broken and the slaves emancipated because they will have become useless as slaves." 6)

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in the last fourteen days—one really needed skill in order to prevent the total breaking up of the house—I have read no newspapers, not even The Tribune on the American Crisis." (op. cit. vol. 3, p. 13).

5a) In his polemic against Proudhon, Marx still wrote: "For him, M. Proudhon, every economic category has two sides, a good and a bad one. He conceives of the categories as the petty bourgeois conceives of the great men of history: **Napoleon** is a great man; he has done much good; he has also done much evil. The **good side and the bad side,** the **advantage** and the **disadvantage** taken together form for Mr. Proudhon the **contradiction** in each economic category. The problem to solve: Preserve the good side while eliminating the bad. Slavery is an economic category like any other. Therefore it, too, has two sides. Let us leave the bad side and speak of the beautiful side of slavery: naturally it is only direct slavery with which we are concerned, the slavery of the Negroes in the Surinam, in Brazil, in the southern countries of North America. Direct slavery is the pivot of bourgeois industry just as well as machinery, credit, etc. Without slavery there is no cotton; without cotton no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value, the colonies that have created world trade, world trade which is the condition of large industry. Thus slavery is an economic category of the highest importance. Without slavery, North America, the most progressive country, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Efface North America from the map of the world, and you will have anarchy, the complete decadence of commerce and of modern civilization. Have slavery disappear and you will have effaced America from the map of peoples. Thus, slavery because it is an economic category, has always been among the institutions of peoples. Modern peoples could only disguise slavery in their own countries; they have imposed it upon the new world without disguise. How will Mr. Proudhon begin to save slavery?" (Marx, K.: Misere de La Philosophe. Paris, 1847. p. 102-103.).

6) Marx-Engels-Lassalle. Nachgelassene Schriften. Herausgegeben von Franz Mehring. Stuttgart 1902, Bd. 3. p. 458-59.

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Thus, in 1850, he did not quite see, as he did a decade later, the actual life-principle of American slavery and consequently could not foresee the struggle in the form of a civil war between the system of free labor of the North and that of slave labor of the South. He merely pointed out that in the midst of a system of free labor, slave labor was an historical anachronism. Like wage labor in Europe, slave labor, he said, would soon not only become an unnecessary form but even a fetter for production in America. Then it would die of its own accord, for the Negroes, useless as slaves, would be emancipated.

But it was not until ten years later with the outbreak of the Civil War, that Marx perceived the real economic law or life-principle which led to the end of slavery: the necessity of the territorial expansion of slavery. And when this and and the provocations of the South ultimately forced the North into a civil war, Marx at once manifested his sympathy for the anti-slave cause of the North. Living in London, he not only attacked the "litany" of the tone-setting local press, which, while insulting the "free states of the North . . . . anxiously defends itself against the suspicion of sympathizing with the slave states of the South," but supported the Republican Party which was to him the open enemy of slavery and whose origin he saw in the struggle for Kansas and the rise of the Northwest. 7)

When the national elections took place in 1860, Marx was eager to see the Republican Party victorious, writing to Lassalle on November 5th of that year: "In the United States, the Republican Party (whose organ is the Tribune) will probably win this time, let us hope." 8)

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7) Compare the following from a letter to Engels written July 1, 1861: "On closer study of the American affair," Marx writes, "I found that the conflict between South and North—after the latter had been degrading itself for the last fifty years from one concession to another—finally came to blows (aside from the new, shameless demands of the 'chivalry') through the weight cast into the balance by the extraordinary development of the Northwest states. This population richly mixed with fresh German and English elements, besides that, essentially self working farmers, was naturally not so inclined to be intimidated as the gentlemen of Wall Street and the Quakers of Boston. According to the last census (1860), it increased from 1850 to 1860 by 67 per cent and in 1860 amounted to 7,870,869, while the total free population of the seceded slave states, according to the same census, was about 5,000,000. These Northwestern states contributed the bulk of the government party as well as the president in 1860. It was just this part of the North, too, that first decided against the recognition of an independent Southern Confederacy. Naturally, they cannot give up the mouth and the lower part of the Mississippi to foreign states. It was this Northwest population, too, which, in the Kansas affair (from which the present war is really to be dated), engaged in battle with the border ruffians.

"A closer examination of the history of the secession movement shows that secession, constitution (Montgomery), congress (illegible) etc., is all usurpation. Nowhere did they allow the people to vote en masse. Very characteristic articles appeared in the southern papers at the time on this 'usurpation' —in which it is not only a question of secession from the North, but also the consolidation and sharpening of the oligarchy of the 300,000 slaveholders against the five million whites in the South." (op. cit. vol. 3, p. 26-27).

8) "Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften. Herausgegeben von Gustav Mayer. Dritter Band ("Der Briefwechsel zwischen Lassalle und Marx," Berlin 1922). S. 342. All further references to the correspondence between Marx and Lassalle are to this volume, unless otherwise indicated.

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Two years later, Engels, though at first skeptical about the North, expressed the same desire to see the Republicans win; and his statement, which Marx undoubtedly endorsed, not only shows that Engels, and with him Marx, opposed the South as an oligarchy which, as Marx said later "dared to inscribe, for the first time in the history of the world, slavery on the banner of armed revolt," but that Marx and Engels were under no illusion as to the real nature of the Northern democracy, a bourgeois republic resting on the basis of free or wage labor. On November 15, 1862, Engels informed Marx that he was waiting impatiently for news from America concerning the Fall elections in New York. If the democrats win in the state of New York, he said, he would not know what to think of the Yankees. It was hard to think that a people faced with a great historical dilemma, in which its very existence was involved, could become a reactionary mass after eighteen months of struggle. "Well as it is, on the one hand," he continued, "that the bourgeois republic has so thoroughly disgraced itself in America too, so that in the future it can never again be preached on its own merits, but only as a means and transitional form to the social revolution, one is still peeved that a lousy oligarchy of only half the number of inhabitants has proved itself just as strong as the big, awkward, helpless democracy." 9)

In his attack on the English press, Marx attacked the representative of the English bourgeoisie. The Civil War in America had called forth a definite class division of sympathies in England, the English bourgeoisie and its press siding with the slaveholders, and the British workers instinctively, as Marx said later, sympathizing with the North. "The slavery crisis in the United States," Marx said in a letter to Lassalle of January 16, 1861, "will lead to a terrible crisis in England in a few years; even now the Manchester cotton lords are beginning to tremble." 10) And four months later he pointed to the "cotton-basis" of the attitude of the British press, writing to Lassalle on May 29th that "the entire official English press is noturally for the slaveholders. They are the same fellows who have tired the world with their anti-slave-trade philanthropy. But cotton, cotton." 11)

He stigmatized the behavior of the English bourgeoisie as shameless and pointed to the pro-northern sympathies of the British proletariat as noble and heroic. "The English middle class (and aristocracy)," he wrote to Lassalle on April 28, 1862, "has never more shamelessly disgraced itself than in the great struggle which is taking place on the other side of the Atlantic. The English working class, on the other hand, which is suffering most under the bellum civile, has never proved itself more heroic and noble. All the more is this to be admired when one knows, as I do, all the means which were set in motion here (in London) and in Manchester in order to get it to demonstrate. The only large organ that they still had, the newspaper of the scoundrel Reynolds, has been bought up by the Southerners; likewise, their most important lecturers. But all in vain." 12)

When the International was founded, one of its earliest acts was to

9) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 98-99.
10) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 345.
11) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 364.
12) op. cit. p. 388. As to the possibility of England declaring war against the North: Marx did not think it likely.

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send an address to Abraham Lincoln, congratulating him on his re-election to the presidency. This address, 13) which was first published in the London daily newspapers of December twenty-third, 1864, was written by Marx and is a concise summary of his attitude on the Civil War in America as well as an outspoken testimony of his sympathy for the North. It not only brands the South as an oligarchy of slaveholders who cynically proclaim property in man as the corner stone of society and slavery as a beneficient institution, "indeed the only solution of the great problem of the relation of Capital to labor," congratulating Lincoln and the North for their triumphant war-cry, "death-to-slavery," but views the "titanic strife" beyond the ocean entirely from the point of view of the working class and its development.

"We congratulate the American people," runs Marx's diplomatic statement, "on your re-election by a large majority. If resistance to the slave power were the reserved watchword upon your first election, the triumphant war-cry of your re-election is 'death to slavery'. From the commencement of the titanic American strife the workingmen of Europe felt instinctively that the star-spangled banner carried the destiny of their class.

"The contest for the territories which opened the dire epopee, was it not to decide whether the virgin soil of immense tracts should be wedded to the labor of the emigrant, or prostituted by the tramp of the slaveholder? When an oligarchy of three hundred thousand slaveholders dared to inscribe, for the first time in the history of the world, slavery on the banner of armed revolt; when on the very spots where hardly a century ago the idea of one great republic had first sprung up, whence the first declaration of the rights of man were issued, and the first impulses given to the European revolution of the eighteenth century; when on those very spots counter-revolution, with systematic thoroughness gloried in rescinding 'the ideas entertained at the time of the formation of the Old Constitution' and maintained slavery to be a beneficient institution, indeed the only solution of the great problem of the relation of Capital to Labor, and cynically proclaimed property in man the corner stone of the new edifice; then the working classes of Europe understood at once, even before the frantic partisanship of the upper classes for the Confederate gentry had given its dismal warning, that the slaveholders' rebellion was to sound the tocsin for a general holy crusade of property against labor, and that for the men of

"War," he writes to Engels on the 9th of December, 1861, "as I stated in the Presse from the very first, will not take place with America, and I only regret that I didn't have the means of exploiting the assininity of the stock exchange dominated by Reuter and the Times during this fools-period." (op. cit. vol. 3, p. 44). Ten days later, on December 19th, 1861, he writes to Engels again, stating: "As for the war with America, Pam (Palmerston) may possibly succeed in bringing it about, but not easily. He must have a pretext, and it doesn't seem to me that Lincoln will give him one. A part of the Cabinet, Milner, Gibson, Gladstone, more or less Lewis, cannot be so befooled as John Russel." (Ibid. p. 44).

13) Reproduced by Spargo in his "Karl Marx: His Life and Work." New York, 1910. pp. 269-270. Spargo gives his reference as: "Life of Abraham Lincoln." By A. J. Barrett; New York, 1865, pages 694-695. The Address is reprinted here together with other letters of a similar nature written by different people. The author, however, is J. H. Barrett, and not A. J. Barrett as given by Spargo. Ernst Drahn, in his Marx-Bibliographie gives the date of first publication as December 22, 1864 (undoubtedly a misprint) and the reference to Spargo as p. 259 of the Leipzig, 1912 edition of his work.

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labor, with their hopes for the future, even their past conquests were at stake in that tremendous conflict on the other side of the Atlantic.

"Everywhere they bore, therefore, patiently, the hardships imposed upon them by the cotton crisis, opposed enthusiastically the pro-slavery intervention importunities of their 'betters' and from most parts of Europe contributed their quota of blood to the good cause. While the workingmen, the true political power of the North, allowed slavery to defile their own republic, while before the Negro, mastered and sold without his concurrence, they boasted in the highest prerogative of the white-skinned laborer to sell himself and choose his own master, they were unable to attain the true freedom of labor, or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation; but this barrier to progress has been swept off by the red sea of civil war.

"The workingmen of Europe feel sure that as the American war of Independence initiated a new era of ascendency for the middle class, so the American anti-slavery war will do for the working classes. 14) They consider it an earnest of the epoch to come, that it fell to the lot of Abraham Lincoln, the single-minded son of the working class, to lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social work." 15)

To his whole-hearted sympathy for the North, Marx added a positive

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14) "Let us not deceive ourselves on this. As in the eighteenth century, the American war of Independence sounded the tocsin for the European middle class, so in the nineteenth century, the American civil war sounded it for the European working class . . . . The representatives of the English Crown in foreign countries there declare in so many words that in Germany, in France, to be brief, in all the civilized states of the European continent, a radical change in the existing relations between capital and labor is as evident and inevitable as in England. At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. Wade, Vice-president of the United States, declared in public meetings that, after the abolition of slavery, a radical change of the relations of capital and of property in land is next upon the order of the day. These are signs of the times, not to be hidden by purple mantles or black cassocks. They do not signify that tomorrow a miracle will happen. They show that, within the ruling classes themselves, a foreboding is dawning, that the present society is no solid crystal, but an organism capable of change and is constantly changing." (Marx, K.: The Preface to the First Edition of Capital. July 25, 1867. Ch. H. Kerr, Chicago, 1921. p. 14, 15-16.)

15) According to Herman Schlueter who reproduces the Address to Lincoln in his volume "Lincoln, Labor and Slavery" (New York, 1913, p. 188-191) in which "the author has attempted to determine Lincoln's position toward the working class," Lincoln "was not a member of the class of industrial workers, but a representative of the lower middle class (known in Europe as the petit bourgeoisie), which in conjunction with the farmers constituted the majority of the inhabitants of the United States in his time. He championed the interests of this middle class and could not rise above its opinions." (p. 11). As for Lincoln and the working class, Schlueter states: "Among the few in Washington who at that time recognized the fact that it was the workingmen of England and these only, who stood behind the 'popular sentiment' in favor of the North, was Abraham Lincoln. In his answer to an address of the workingmen of Manchester he declared the attitude of the English working class on the question of Negro slavery to be 'an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country.' Lincoln's keener insight in this case does not prove that he was equally clear-sighted in the matter of the labor movement and all that it implies, or that he

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faith in its ultimate victory over the oligarchy of the South. He was firmly convinced that the struggle in America would lead to the final abolition of slavery. 16) The war itself, as he tried to show in his second article, had been initiated by the South. It was "no war of defense, but a war of conquest, a war of conquest for the expansion and perpetuation of slavery." And as Marx showed in both of his articles, the war between the North and the South was inevitable. It was a struggle for supremacy between two irreconcilable systems, the system of slavery versus the system of free labor in which the life-principle of the one, "continual expansion of the territory and continual spreading of slavery over and beyond its old boundaries," could only mean the extinction of the other, the driving force of which, according to Marx, was the self-working farmer of the Northwest. 17) "The present struggle between the South and the North," wrote Marx in his article of November 7, 1861, "is . . . . nothing but a struggle between two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. Because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent, the struggle has broken out. It can only be ended by the victory of the one or the other system."

The course of history has proved the correctness of Marx's judgment. He felt that a compromise was impossible. For even were peace concluded on the basis of limiting the Confederacy to the old slave states within the confines of the Mississippi and the Atlantic, such a peace would mean the end of slavery, since it would deal a death blow to its life-principle of expansion. Furthermore, the limitation of slavery to the South in the form of an independent Confederacy would be against the interest of that part of the North which "first decided against the recognition of an independent Southern Confederacy, and which, according to Marx, had become the decisive factor in the Northern balance, namely, the Northwest. For naturally it could not "give up the mouth and the lower part of the Mississippi to foreign states." 18) On the other hand, were slavery allowed to spread, it

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arrived at a clear understanding of it. His public utterances in regard to his position toward the working class, as well as in regard to his views on the labor movement, reveal no special clarity. He did not recognize the significance of the labor movement and its struggles; he could not recognize it. In his time the American labor movement was still in its infancy. Only in the eastern section of the country, where manufacture had begun to develop, could its beginning be discerned. Lincoln himself did not come into touch with the American labor movement, at least not into close touch, and it was therefore perfectly explicable why he could not reach definite conclusions concerning the aims of this movement, its tasks and the economic causes which gave rise to it." (p. 10-11). I do not know of any really definite opinion of Lincoln expressed by either Marx or Engels.

16) Compare one of Marx's early statements in a letter to Engels dated January 7, 1861. "The situation," he wrote, "is becoming lively in America, too. Things must be very disgusting with the slaves if the Southerners dare to play such a risky game. The slightest dash of volunteers from the North could set everything aflame. In any case, slavery seems to be rapidly approaching the end, one way or the other, and likewise, then, with the production of cotton . . . ." (op. cit. vol. 3, p. 4). Cf. Marx's international review of 1850 cited above.

17) When Marx speaks of the expansion of slavery and of slave territory as the life-principle of the Southern slave states, it must be remembered that he is speaking of the "slave states of the Union" and not of slavery in general.

18) Cf. footnote 7.

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"would infect the entire Union. (And) in the Northern States where Negro slavery is unfeasible in practice, the white working class would gradually be pressed down to the level of helotism."

Thus, Marx wrote to Engels on September 10, 1862, expressing his conviction that the North would carry the war to a victorious end. "As for the Yankees," he said, "I am certainly of the opinion, now as before, that the North will finally win; the civil war, to be sure, may pass through all kinds of episodes, perhaps even through armistices, and be long drawn out. The South would or might only make peace on the condition that it receive the slave states of the border. In that case, it would get California too, the Northwest would follow and the entire Confederacy, possibly with the exclusion of the New England states, would once more constitute a country, this time under the acknowledged supremacy of the slaveholders. It would be the reconstruction of the United States on the basis demanded by the South. This, however, is impossible and will not occur.

"The North, in turn, can only make peace if the Confederacy is limited to the old slave states and these confined between the Mississippi and the Atlantic. In that case, the Confederacy would soon reach its blissful end. Intervening armistices, etc., on the basis of a status quo could, at the utmost, bring about pauses in the conduct of the war." 19)

But while to Marx the situation did not exclude the possibility of a victory for either side, he was not only convinced that the North would win, but he firmly believed that were Lincoln to fail to carry on the war, a revolution in the North would be inevitable. He did not agree with Engels who, in 1862, thought that all was over, and criticized him for overestimating the military aspect of the American situation. The war, he felt, was going to take a new turn. The North could not give up the struggle and the inefficient manner in which it carried on the war was due entirely to its character as a bourgeois republic. True, the Southern oligarchy was better suited to carry on the war. But the North, with its 20,000,000 free citizens would soon turn to more serious, revolutionary, and in his opinion, more successful methods. The obstacles to a successful war on the part of the North, Marx was convinced, were purely political and would soon be overcome. The South would then be unable to resist the superior force of the North.

"The manner in which the North carries on war," he wrote to Engels on October 29, 1862, "is only to be expected from a bourgeois republic where swindle has been on the sovereign throne for so long. The South, an oligarchy, is better suited for that, especially an oligarchy where the entire productive labor is done by the niggers and the 4,000,000 'white trash' are bucaneers by profession . . . ." 20) Three months earlier Marx had formulated his opinion as to the outcome of the war with the South in a letter to Engels and concluded that such wars as the American civil war could only be carried on in a revolutionary manner, free from all constitutional barriers. "I do not entirely share your views on the American civil war," he said. "I do not believe that everything is over. The Northerners were from the very beginning dominated by the representatives of the

19) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 92.

20) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 96.

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border slave states who also pushed MacClellan, that old partisan of Breckinridge, to the top. The South, on the contrary, acted as one from the very first. The North itself has transformed slavery into a military force for the South, instead of turning it against it. The South leaves the productive labor to the slaves and could thus lead its entire fighting force unhindered into the field. It had a unified military leadership. The North did not. That they had no strategic plan was clear from all the maneuvers of the Kentucky army after the conquest of Tennessee. In my opinion, all this will take another turn. The North will finally carry on the war seriously and resort to revolutionary means and cast aside the domination of the people of the border slave states. A single nigger regiment will have a remarkable effect on the Southern nerves.

"The difficulty of getting the three hundred thousand men seems entirely political to me. The Northwest and New England want and will force the government to give up its former diplomatic conduct of the war, and they are now making terms on which the three hundred thousand men shall come forth. If Lincoln doesn't agree (which he will do, however), then there will be a revolution.

"As for the lack of military talents, the hitherto purely diplomatic selection of generals, controlled by party intrigues, was scarcely such as to bring such talents to the foreground. General Pope, however, appears to me to be a man of energy.

"As for the financial measures, they are clumsy as must be the case in a country where in fact (for the entire state) no taxes existed up till now; nevertheless, by far not so stupid as the measures of Pitt and consorts. The present depreciation of money seems to me to be attributable not to economic but to purely political reasons, distrust. Hence will change with a different policy.

"The long and the short of the matter seems to me to be that such wars must be conducted in a revolutionary manner and that the Yankees have hitherto tried to carry it on constitutionally." 21)

The fact that Marx supported the anti-slave movement and felt that the Civil War would end in a victory for the Union in no way indicates that he approved of the specific bearer of this movement in itself, the bourgeois republic of the North. On the other hand, the fact that the North was essentially a bourgeois democracy in no way affected its historical importance as the bearer of a progressive movement. On the contrary, the bourgeois republic, as Engels said, was the transitional form to the social revolution. To Marx, the dialectic materialist, the bourgeois republic, in contradistinction to the southern oligarchy, bore the germ of the future social revolution; it represented the future of the working class. For, unlike the slave-oligarchy, it produced and fostered the revolutionary labor movement. And the development of a labor movement in America would not only extend, but in so doing, strengthen the social revolution.

The preservation of the bourgeois republic, therefore, involving the destruction of the slave-oligarchy, was an historically forward step. The emancipation of the slaves was in itself a great progressive achievement.

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21) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 83-84.

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For in the midst of a predominantly capitalistic world, chattel slavery was a reactionary force. And though a natural and inveterate enemy of slavery in any form, historically, Marx would of course consider wage slavery, or free labor, as a higher stage of social development. Hence, what concerned Marx was on the one hand the historic fact of the anti-slave movement and the emancipation of the slaves, and on the other, the development of an American labor movement and its international significance.

Thus Marx wrote to Engels on October 29, 1862, saying: "Like others, I naturally see that which is repulsive in the form of the Yankee movement; but I find the reason for it in the nature of a 'bourgeois' democracy. Nevertheless, the events there are world upheaving . . . . The anger with which the Southerners receive Lincoln's acts proves their importance. Lincoln's acts all have the appearance of illiberal stipulated conditions which an attorney presents to an opponent. This, however, does not hinder their historic content." 22)

It was not long before the "historic content" of the American Civil War began to bear its first historic fruit. Marx himself described one substantial side of it not many years after the close of the "dire epopee" in his last chapter of the first volume of "Capital". "The American Civil War," he wrote, "brought in its train a colossal national debt, and, with it, pressure of taxes, the rise of the vilest financial aristocracy, the squandering of a huge part of the public land on speculative companies for the exploitation of railways, mines, etc., in brief, the most rapid centralization of capital. The great republic has, therefore, ceased to be the promised land for emigrant laborers. Capitalistic production advances there with giant strides, even though the lowering of wages and the dependence of the wage-worker are yet far from being brought down to the noraml European level." 23)

The other side was the development of a labor movement in America. The labor movement, "our movement", was in the last analysis the criterion by which Marx and Engels judged the developments of modern history, and it was none the less the historic criterion for their judgment of the American Civil War.

The outbreak of a strike in 1877 arouses the hope in Marx that the International might still be revived in the United States and that this new movement of the workers might form the starting point for a real American labor party. "What do you think of the workers of the United States?" he asks Engels in a letter of July 25, 1877. "This first outbreak against the associated capital oligarchy, arisen since the Civil War, will of course be smashed, but can very well form the starting point in the United States for the formation of a serious labor party. There are two favorable circumstances. The policy of the new president will make the Negroes and the farmers of the west, who, as a result of the great land expropriations (and of the fertile land, too) in favor of the railway, mining companies, etc., are already grumbling very strongly, into allies of the workers. So that nice sauce is being stirred up there and the transferring of the center of the

22) op. cit. vol. 3, p. 96.

23) Capital I, p. 847. (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1921).

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International to the United States may still get quite an extraordinray opportunity post festum." 24) A week later Engels replies. "The American strike situation," he says, "has given me great joy. They are jumping into the movement quite differently from those on this side of the water. Only twelve years after the abolition of slavery and the movement already so acute." 25)

Marx's relations to the Vienna "Presse" in which first appeared his articles reprinted here, will be dealt with in connection with the next article in the May issue of The Communist.

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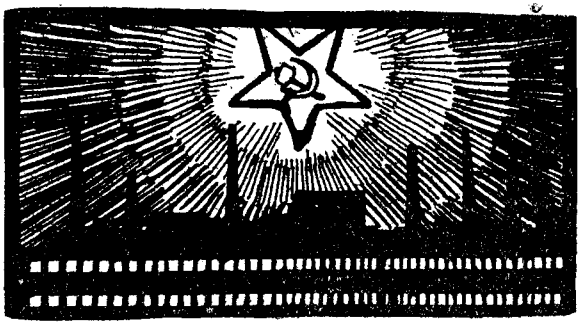
24) op. cit. vol. 4, p. 401.

25) op. cit. vol. 4, p. 403. (July 31, 1877).



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The Civil War in North America

By KARL MARX

(Published in the Vienna "Presse," October 25, 1861)

THE WAR, for which the great North American Republic has been the stage more than half a year now, is already beginning to react upon Europe. France, who is losing a market for her goods through these disturbances, and England, whose industry is threatened with partial ruin by the stagnation in the export of cotton from the slave states,* are following the development of the civil war in the United States with feverish tension. While Europe, and even the Americans themselves, did not despair of the possibility of a peaceful solution up to the very last moment, the war is now taking on ever greater proportions, is spreading more and more over the immense territories of North America, and the longer it lasts, the more it holds the threat of a crisis over this part of the world too. England and France will be the first to be seized and rocked by it, and the ruin of the French and English markets will react in a similar manner on the rest of the European markets. Hence, aside from the historic interest, we have a very positive interest in being oriented on the causes, the significance and the consequences of the transatlantic events. We have received a first contribution from London on the North American Civil War by one of the greatest German publicists who knows the Anglo-American situation from many years of observation. To the extent that events develop on the other side of the ocean, we shall be in a position to bring contributions, from the same competent pen, fixating events in their essential points.

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1861.

For months, the tone-setting London press, weekly and daily papers, has been repeating the same litany on the American Civil War. While it insults the free states of the North, it anxiously defends itself against the suspicion of sympathizing with the slave states of the South. In fact, it continually writes two articles: one article in which it attacks the North, and another in which it excuses its attacks upon he North. Qui s'excuse s'accuse (He who excuses himself accuses himself). The palliative reasons are essentially as follows: The war between the North and South is a tariff war. Moreover, the war has no principles, does not touch the slavery question and turns, in fact, upon the desire of the North for sovereignty.

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*"The cotton famine, a result of the North American Civil War, became very acute in the second half of the year 1862. In England the importation of raw cotton had shrunk from 1,140.6 million pounds in 1860 to 309.3 in 1862. We meet the same phenomenon in France. As a result, the misery among the workers was very great. According to authentic estimations, 60.3 per cent of the spindles and 58 per cent of the looms were still in October, 1862. The condition of the workers in Lancashire was frightful. And the French workers fared no better."—D. Rjazanov: "Entstehung der Internationalen Arbeiterassoziation". In: Marx-Engels Archiv. I. Band, S. 164.

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Finally, even if the North were in the right, is it not still a vain attempt to wish forcefully to subjugate 8,000,000 Anglo-Saxons! Would not a separation from the South free the North from all connection with Negro slavery and secure to it, with its 20,000,000 inhabitants and its enormous territories, a higher, hitherto scarcely suspected development? Ought not the North, then, greet secession as a happy event instead of wanting to suppress it by a bloody and futile civil war?*

We shall test the plaidoyer of the English press point for point.

The war between the North and South, so runs the first excuse, is a mere tariff war, a war between the system of protection and the system of free trade, England standing naturally on the side of free trade. Shall the slave-owner enjoy all the fruits of the slave-labor, or shall he be cheated out of a part of it by the protectionists of the North? That is the question involved in this war.

This brilliant discovery was reserved for the "Times". The Economist, the Examiner, the Saturday Review, and tutti quanti* developed the theme farther. It is characteristic of this discovery that it was not made at Charleston but at London. In America, everyone naturally knew that from 1846 to 1861 a free-trade tariff prevailed and that Representative Morill only put his protective tariff through in Congress in 1861 after the rebellion had once broken out.

Secession, then, did not take place because the Morill Tariff had been passed in Congress. But, at best, the Morill Tariff had been passed in Congress because secession had taken place. When, in 1831, South Carolina had its first fit of secession, the protective tariff of 1828, to be sure, served it as a pretext, but only as a pretext, as is known from a statement made by General Jackson. This time, however, the old pretext was, in fact, not repeated. At the Secession Congress at Montgomery, they avoided every reference to the tariff question because the sugar cultivation of Louisiana, one of the most influential of the Southern states, rests entirely upon protection.

But, the London press pleads further, the war of the United States is nothing more than a war for the forceful maintainance of the Union. The Yankees cannot bring themselves to obliterate five stars from their flag. They want to make a colossal figure on the world stage. Ah! it would be another matter if the war were conducted for the abolition of slavery! The question of slavery, however, as the Saturday Review" among other things, categorically declares, has nothing at all to do with this war.

Before all, it must be remembered that the war did not emanate from the North but from the South. The North is on the defensive. For months, it had watched the secessionists take possession of forts, war-arsenals, boat-wharves, custom-houses, pay-offices, ships, stores of arms of the Union, its

*Although the great majority of the English workers sympathized with the North, a small minority believed that the South should be allowed to establish an independent state." . . . . Strong as this movement of the English workers in favor of the Northern states was, it must not be forgotten that among the English workers—especially among the London ones—there was also a minority which, although it was not for slavery, still believed with a part of the bourgeoisie that the Southern states had the right to constitute themselves an independent state." (Rjazanov, op. cit. p. 166).

*So many others.

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flag insulted, detachments of its troops captured. Through an ostentations act of war the secessionists finally decided to force the Union government out of its passive attitude and only for this reason proceeded to bombard Fort Sumter near Charleston. On April 11, (1861), its general Beauregard had learned in a meeting with Major Anderson, the commander of Fort Sumter, that the Fort was provided with provisions only for three days more and therefore, at the end of this time, would have to surrender peacefully. In order to forestall this peaceful surrender, the Secessionists, early the next morning (April 12), opened the bombardment which forced the place to capitulate in a few hours. Scarcely had this news been telegraphed to Montgomery, the seat of the Secession Congress, than Minister of War Walter publicly stated in the name of the new Confederacy: "No one can tell where the war, commenced today, will end." At the same time, he prophesied "that the flag of the Southern Confederacy would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington even before the first of May and within a short time, perhaps from Faneuil Hall* at Boston." Now only followed the proclamation in which Lincoln called for 75,000 men for the protection of the Union. The bombardment of Fort Sumter cut off the one possible constitutional outlet, namely, the convening of a general convention of the American people, as Lincoln had proposed in his Inaugural Address. For Lincoln there remained only the choice of fleeing from Washington, evacuating Maryland and Delaware, giving up Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, or of answering the war by war.

The question of the principle of the American Civil War is answered by the war-cry with which the South broke the peace. Stephens, the vice-president of the Southern Confederacy, declared in the Secession Congress that this essentially distinguishes the newly-hatched constitution at Montgomery from the constitution of the Washingtons and Jeffersons that now for the first time slavery is recognized as an institution good in itself and as the foundation of the entire state structure, while the Revolutionary Fathers, men possessed with the prejudices of the eighteenth century, had treated slavery as an evil imported from England and in the course of time to be removed. Another matador of the South, Mr. Spratt, called out: "For us it is a question of founding a great slave-republic." . . . If, then, the North drew its sword even for the defense of the Union, had not the South already declared that the continuation of slavery is no longer compatible with the continuation of the Union?

Just as the bombardment of Fort Sumter gave the signal for the opening of the war, so the election victory of the Republican party of the North, the election of Lincoln as president, had given the signal for secession. On November 6, 1860, Lincoln was elected. On November 8, 1860, they telegraphed from South Carolina: "Secession is here considered as settled." On November 10th, the Legislature of Georgia occupied itself with plans of secession, and on the 13th of November, a special sitting of the Mississippi Legislature was determined upon in order to consider Secession. But Lincoln's election was itself only the result of a split in the Democratic camp.

*A market house in Boston built by Peter Faneuil, a local merchant, between 1740 and 1742 and then given to the city. The upper story contained a hall which because it was the meeting place of Revolutionary patriots, has been called the "cradle of liberty."

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During the election struggle, the Democracy of the North combined its votes for **Douglas**, the Democracy of the South for **Breckinridge**, and to this scattering of the democratic vote, the Republican party owed its victory. Whence, on the other hand, this preponderance of the **Republican** party in the North? Whence, on the other hand, the split **within** the **Democratic** party whose members, North and South, for more than half a century, had acted together?

Under the presidency of Buchanan, the domination which the South, through its alliance with the Northern Democracy, had usurped again and again over the Union, reached its highest point. The last Continental Congress of 1787 and the First Constitutional Congress of 1789-90 had legally excluded slavery from all territories of the republic northwest of the Ohio. (Territories, as is known, are called the colonies situated within the United States itself which have not yet reached the constitutionally prescribed number of inhabitants for the formation of independent states.) The so-called Missouri Compromise (1820), as a result of which Missouri entered the ranks of the United States as a slave state, excluded slavery from all remaining territory north of 36 degree 30 min. latitude and west from Missouri. Through this compromise, the sphere of slavery was extended by several degrees of longitude, while to its future propagation, on the other hand, there seemed to have been set quite a definite geographical boundary. This geographic barrier was in its turn overthrown in 1854 by the so-called Kansas-Nebraska Bill whose framer was Senator A. Douglas, at that time leader of the Northern Democracy. The Bill which passed both houses of Congress repealed the Missouri compromise, put slavery and freedom on an equal footing, enjoining the Union government to treat them both with equal indifference, and left to popular sovereignty, that is, to the majority of the settlers, the decision as to whether or not slavery should be introduced in a territory. Thus, for the first time in the history of the United States, every geographic and legal barrier to the expansion of slavery in the territories was done away with. Under this new legislation, the hitherto free territory of Mexico, a territory five times larger than the state of New York, was transformed into slave territory and the area of slavery was extended from the boundary of the Mexican Republic to 38 degrees N. latitude. In the year 1859, New Mexico received a slave code which could rival in barbarism the law books of Texas and Alabama. Nevertheless, as the census of 1860 shows, New Mexico does not yet number half a hundred slaves for about 100,000 inhabitants. It was therefore sufficient for the South to send a few adventurers with few slaves, to then drum up for its officials and contractors in New Mexico, with the help of the central government at Washington, what was ostensibly a people's-representation which imposed slavery upon the territory and with it the domination of the slaveholders.

Meanwhile, this convenient method proved to be inapplicable in other territories. The South, therefore, went still a step farther and from Congresss appealed to the United States Supreme Court. This Court, which numbers nine judges, five of whom belong to the South, was for long the most willing tool of the slaveholders. In 1857, in the famous Dred-Scott case, it decided that every American citizen has the right to take with him into every terriory all property recognized by the Constitution. The Constitution recognizes slaves as property and imposes upon the Union government the duty of defending this property. Consequently, on the basis of the Con-

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stitution, slaves in the territories could be compelled by their owners to work, and thus every individual slaveholder has the right, against the will of the majority of settlers, to introduce slavery into hitherto free territories. The territorial legislatures were denied the right to exclude slavery, and upon Congress, as upon the Union government, was imposed the duty to protect the pioneers of the slave system.

If the Missouri Compromise of 1820 had extended the geographical boundary line and in its place had set a political barrier, namely, the will of the majority of the settlers, the Supreme Court of the United States through its decision of 1857 tore down this political barrier too and transformed all territories of the Republic, present and future ones, from plantations of Free States into plantations of slavery.

At the same time, under Buchanan's government, the law for the extradition of fugitive slaves promulgated in 1850 and rendered more severe was pitilessly carried through in the states of the North. To play the slave-catcher for the Southern slaveholders seemed to be the constitutional calling of the North. On the other hand, in order to hinder as much as possible the colonization of the territories by free settlers, the party of slaveholders frustrated all so-called free-soil measures, i. e., measures which were supposed to assure the settlers gratuitously of a definite measure of uncultivated government land.

As in the internal policy, the interest of the slaveholders served also as the guiding star of the foreign policy. Buchanan, in fact, had purchased the presidential honor cheaply by issuing the Ostend Manifesto in which the acquisition of Cuba, whether by spoiliation or by force of arms, is proclaimed as the great task of national politics. Under his government, northern Mexico was already divided among land speculators who impatiently awaited the signal to pounce upon Chihuahua, Coahuila and Sonora. The continual piratic expeditions of the buccaneers against the states of Central America were likewise directed by the White House at Washington. In close conformity with this foreign policy whose notorious purpose was the conquest of new domains for the expansion of slavery and the domination of the slaveholders, was the **re-opening of the slave trade,** secretly supported by the Union Government. On August 20, 1859, A. St. Douglas himself declared in the American Senate: During the course of the last year, more Negroes have been brought in from Africa than ever before in any single year, even at the time when the slave trade was still legal. The number of slaves imported in the last year has run up to 15,000.

Armed extension of slavery outwards was the avowed goal of the national policy. In fact, the Union became the slave of the 300,000 slaveholders who rule the South. A series of compromises which the South owed to its alliance with the Northern Democracy, led to this result. All the attempts of resistance to the ever-growing aggressions of the slaveholders, periodically repeated since 1817, had been hitherto shattered by this same alliance. Finally, a turning point was reached.

Thus, scarcely had the Kansas-Nebraska Bill been passed, extinguishing the geographic boundary-line of slavery and subjecting its introduction into new territories to the will of the majority of the settlers, than armed emissaries of the slaveholders, a border-mob from Missouri and Arkansas, bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other, pounced upon Kansas and tried

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to drive them out of the territory which they colonized, by most unheard of atrocities. These predatory excursions were supported by the central government at Washington. Hence an enormous reaction. Throughout the entire North, but especially in the Northwest, a Relief Organization was formed in order to support Kansas with men, arms and money. From this Relief Organization arose the **Republican Party** which then owes its origin to the struggle for Kansas. After the attempt to transform Kansas by armed force into a **slave territory** had been shattered, the South sought to achieve the same result by way of political intrigue. Buchanan's government especially exerted all of its forces to the utmost in order to legislate Kansas in, with a slave constitution imposed upon it, as a **slave state** into the ranks of the United States. Hence a new struggle, this time conducted mainly in Congress at Washington. Even A. St. Douglas, chief of the Northern Democracy, now (1857-1858) entered the lists against the Government and against his allies of the South because the imposing of a slave constitution contradicts the principle of the sovereignty of the settlers recognized in the Nebraska Bill of 1854. Douglas, senator from Illinois, a northwestern state, would naturally have lost his entire influence had he acknowledged the right of the South to steal colonized territories from the North by means of arms or by congressional acts. Hence, while the struggle for Kansas called the **Republican Party** into life, it at the same time caused **the first split within the Democratic Party** itself.

The Republican Party set up its first program for the presidential election of 1856. Although its candidate, John Fremont, did not win, the enormous number of votes which he received demonstrated, at any rate, the rapid growth of the party, especially in the Northwest. At their second national convention for the presidential election, (May 17, 1860), the Republicans repeated their program of 1856 only enriched by a few additions. Its chief content was this: not a foot of new territory is henceforth to be acceded to slavery. The buccaneering foreign policy must cease. The reopening of the slave-trade is stigmatized. Finally, Free-soil laws for the furthering of free colonization are to be passed.

The decisively important point in this program was that not a foot of new territory was to be accorded to slavery, that it should rather remain confined once for all within the limits of the states in which it already existed legally. Slavery should thus evidently be removed to the interior; but continual expansion of the territory and continual spreading of slavery over and beyond its old boundaries is a life principle for the slave states of the Union.

The cultivation of southern articles of exportation carried on by slaves, cotton, tobacco, sugar, etc., is only productive as long as it is carried out on a mass scale with large gangs of slaves and on wide stretches of a naturally fertile soil demanding only simple labor. Intensive cultivation, which depends less upon the fertility of the soil than upon capital outlay, intelligence and energy of the labor, contradicts the very nature of slavery. Hence the rapid transformation of states like Maryland and Virginia, which formerly employed slaves for the production of articles of export, into states which breed slaves in order, then, to export them themselves to the countries lying farther south. Even in South Carolina, where the slaves constitute four-sevenths of the population, the cultivation of cotton has for years been

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almost entirely stationary as a result of the exhaustion of the soil. Indeed, South Carilina is, in part, already transformed by force of circumstances into a slave-breeding state in that it is yearly selling slaves already to the amount of $4,000,000 to the states of the extreme south and southwest. As soon as this point comes, the acquisition of new territories becomes necessary in order that a part of the slaveholders may settle new fertile territories with their slaves and a new market for slave-breeding, hence for the sale of slaves, be created for the part that has remained behind. Thus, for example, there is no doubt that without the reversion of Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas to the United States, slavery in Virginia and Maryland would long be extinguished. One of the leaders of the South, Senator Toombs, at the Secessionist Congress of Montgomery, has strikingly formulated the economic law which the continual extension of the territory of slavery imposes: "If," he said, "no great increase in slave territory takes place, they will have to allow the slaves to run out the whites fifteen years later or the whites will have to run away from the slaves."

The representation of the individual states in the House of Representatives of Congress depends, as is known, upon the size of their respective population. Since the population of the free states grows incomparably faster than that of the slave states, the number of the Northern representatives would of necessity very rapidly surpass that of the Southern ones. The actual seat of the political power of the South is hence more and more transferred to the American Senate where every state, be its population large or small, is represented by two senators. In order to assert its influence in the Senate, and through the Senate its hegemony over the United States, the South would then need a continual formation of new slave states. But this was only possible through the conquest of foreign lands, as in the case of Texas, through the transformation of territories belonging to the United States first into slave territories, later into slave states, as in the case of Missouri, Arkansas, etc. **John Calhoun**, whom the slaveholders admire as their statesman par excellence, declared in the Senate as early as February 19, 1847, that the Senate alone put the balance of power into the hands of the South, that expansion of the slave territory was necessary in order to maintain this equilibrium between South and North in the Senate, that the attempts of the South at forceful creation of new slave states were therefore justified. Finally, the number of actual slaveholders in the south of the Union does not amount to more than 300,000, a narrow oligarchy pitted against many millions of so-called poor whites, the mass of whom has been constantly growing as a result of the concentration of landed property and whose condition can only be compared with that of the Roman plebians at the time of the extremest decadence of Rome. Only through acquisition and the prospect of the acquisition of new territories, as well as through pirate expeditions, is it possible to reconcile the interests of these poor whites with that of the slaveholders, to give their restless urge for activity a direction free from dangers, and to decoy them with the prospect of sometimes becoming slaveholders themselves.

A confinement of slavery within its old terrain would thus of necessity lead to its gradual extinguishment in accordance with economic law, politically destroy the hegemony which the slave states exercised through the

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Senate, and finally expose the slaveholding oligarchy within its own states to threatening dangers from the direction of the poor whites. With the principle that all further expansion of slave territories is to be legally forbidden, the Republicans hence attacked the domination of the slaveholders at its very root. The Republican election victory therefore had to drive to an open struggle between North and South. Meanwhile, this electoral victory itself, as already mentioned, was conditioned by the split in the Democratic camp.

The Kansas struggle had already called forth a split between the slave party and the Democracy of the North allied to it. The same conflict now broke out again in a general form with the presidential election of 1860. The Democracy of the North, with Douglas as its candidate, made the introduction of slavery into territories dependent upon the will of the majority of the settlers. The slaveholder party, with Breckinridge as its candidate, asserted that the Constitution of the United States, as declared also by the Supreme Court, recognizes slavery as legal; slavery in itself is already legal in all territories and needs no special naturalization. While then the Republicans forbade every increase in slave territories, the Southern party claimed all territories of the Republic as legal domains enjoying all rights and privileges. What they had attempted with Kansas by way of example, namely, to force slavery upon a territory through the central government against the will of the settlers themselves, they now set up as law for all territories of the Union. Such a concession lay beyond the power of the Democratic leaders and would only have caused the desertion of their army to the Republican camp. On the other hand, for Douglas' slaveholder party "settlers-sovereignty" could not suffice. What it wanted to put through had to be put through in the next four years under the new president, could only be put through by means of the central government and allowed of no further delay. It did not escape the slaveholders that a new power had been formed, the **Northwest**, whose population from 1850 to 1860 had nearly doubled, was already pretty equal to the white population of the slave states—a power which was inclined neither through tradition, temperament nor manner of living to allow itself to be dragged from compromise to compromise in the manner of the old northeastern states. The Union still had a value for the South only in so far as it delivered up to it the federal powers as a means of carrying through its slave policy. If not, it was better to break now than to watch the development of the Republican party four years longer and the rapid rise of the Northwest and then begin the struggle under less favorable conditions. The slaveholder party therefore played va banque.* When the Democracy of the North refused to continue to play the role of the poor whites of the South, the South, by scattering its votes, gave the victory to Lincoln and then took this victory as a pretext for drawing the sword out of the scabbard.

The entire movement rested and rests, as we see, upon the **slave question.** Not in the sense whether the slaves should or should not be directly emancipated within the existing slave states, but whether the 20,000,000 free citizens of the North should continue to subordinate themselves to

*Staking all.

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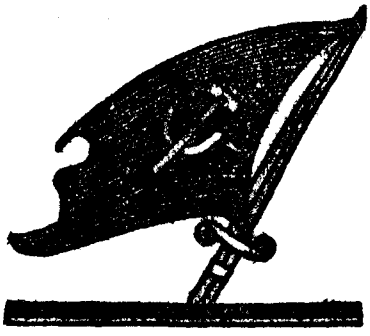
an oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders; whether the vast territories of the Republic should become plantations of free states or of slavery; finally, whether the national policy of the union should make as its slogan the armed extension of slavery over Mexico, Central and South America.

In another article we shall examine the assertion of the London Press that the North must endorse secession as the most favorable and only possible solution of the conflict.



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The World Struggle for Rubber.

By LEON PLATT.

I.

1. RUBBER: ITS ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

RUBBER is one of the raw materials, which has assumed importance for all countries. Like the fight for coal, iron, or oil, the struggle for rubber has disturbed the relations between the great powers. The beginnings of the epoch of the regime of rubber are to be found in the late world war.

The development of the motor car, the tires of which alone consume four-fifths of the rubber import, has accelerated the development of the rubber industry. To this can be added the 32,000 articles in the United States that are partly or wholly made of rubber, as well as the 51 million miles of insulated telephone and telegraph wires.

Rubber was a peaceful industry. Rubber was a product that grew in tropical jungles. Few concerns were engaged in its collection. To the outside world it was connected with heroism and danger, and looked on as an adventure to the rubber seekers. Not until recently did we have a rubber question. The first open conflict for the control of rubber occurred between England and America. This conflict has emphasized the fact that, unlike coal, iron, or oil, the area in which rubber can be produced is limited. The countries lying in the tropical belt ten degrees north and south of the equator are alone suitable for rubber growing.

Besides the particular geographical position of the rubber producing countries, there must also be exceptional climatic conditions to make rubber growing possible. This is characteristic of rubber more than of any other raw material.

The scarcity of the wild rubber supply for our industries forced us to seek other sources. We began to plant rubber like coffee, tobacco, etc. At present there are two sources that supply the world's rubber. One, the rubber obtained from plantations, the other, wild rubber. As recently as 1905, most of the world's rubber supplies were of wild rubber, which was collected from the trees of the Amazon region of South America and from that part of Africa known as the Belgian Congo. The world's total rubber production in 1905 was 54,494 tons. Of this, plantation rubber constituted only 174 tons or one-third of one per cent, while of wild rubber there were 59,320 tons or 99 and two-thirds of one per cent.

In 1925, the composition of the world's rubber supply was different. Of the total rubber production of 505,000 tons, 35,000 tons or 6.3% was wild rubber, while plantation rubber amounted to 470,000 tons or 93.7%. With the change in th ecomposition of the world's rubber supply also changed the place where rubber was produced. Now the main sources of supply are the Straits Settlements and the Dutch East Indies.

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There is another way in which rubber differs from other raw materials. The deposits of oil, coal or iron bear profits as soon as exploited. But returns from rubber plantations is a question of years. To clear the jungle so as to make it fit for rubber plantations takes one or two years. After the rubber trees are planted it requires five or six years till the trees reach maturity ready for tapping. So it takes six to eight years to make rubber a paying proposition.

Another factor necessary for rubber planting is cheap labor at the rate of 10c to 25c per day. This is not because the selling price of rubber does not permit a decent living wage. (Rubber on the New York market is sold 300% above the cost of production.)

The assurance of the invested capital as well as interest is achieved by the rubber imperialists through the permanent control of the rubber producing countries. They make the laws fit their policies of exploitation, allow the plantation owners an unlimited ownership of land, and shape the immigration laws so that they will not seek the Chinese coolies from plantation areas to compete with native labor. Southern Chinese and Indian coolies are hired by contract for a period of three years, becoming virtually the property of the plantation owners.

As the Bankers' Association Journal of August, 1922, said, there must not be "Any political meldings in the rubber producing country." In other words, a country where rubber is produced must be subjected to the control of the world power, whose capital is invested in the plantations, and any discontent or movement for national independence cannot be tolerated.

2. CONTROL OVER THE RUBBER PRODUCING AREA.

In the struggle for rubber two important groups are playing the dominant role: 1. The owners of the rubber plantations which are monopolized by English capital. 2. The rubber manufacturers, of which the American are the most important, consuming 75.6% of the world's rubber.

Although America is the world's largest rubber consumer, American capital controls an unimportant fraction of the world's rubber plantations, as can be seen from the table given below.

TABLE NO. 1. CAPITAL INVESTED IN RUBBER PLANTATIONS.

Country	Amount	Percent of total
Great Britain	$505,000,000	57.6
Netherlands	130,000,000	14.8
France and Belgium	30,000,000	3.4
Japan	42,000,000	4.8
United States	32,000,000	3.7
Shanghai	14,000,000	1.6
Denmark	11,000,000	1.3
All others including native owned areas	112,000,000	12.8
Total	$876,000,000	100.0

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America does not produce nor control rubber, but it is very important for her industries. It is like sisal, manganese, potash, nitrates, etc. . . . for the supply of which she depends upon other countries. From the viewpoint of American imperialism the control of that product is urgent. Rubber is essential for certain important instruments of war, and the monopoly of a product of such importance is menacing to the United States. Great Britain controls 75% of the world's rubber, the United States consumes as much. This makes America's needs of rubber dependent upon Great Britain.

The investments of the United States in rubber plantations are insignificant when compared with the British or with the financial resources of the United States. Actually, British capital invested in rubber plantations is more than $505,000,000. For 26% of the capital invested in the Dutch East Indies plantations is British capital, making a total of $538,000,000 of British capital invested in rubber plantations. The importance of the British rubber plantation is, that 69% of the 75% of the world's planted acreage controlled by Great Britain lies in the territory of the British possessions and is under the protection of the British flag. (Map)

3. THE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF RUBBER.

With the development of the automotive industry, came the increased production of rubber. For a long period in its history rubber was used chiefly for articles other than automobile tires. As recently as 1910, the rubber from Brazil and the Belgian Congo represented 91% of the world's total supplies. The reasons why these two countries lost their predominance in the rubber world are:

1. The wild rubber trees, to which access was easily gained, curtailed their production.

2. The exploitation of the natives reached such a stage, that the latter refused to gather rubber under the existing conditions of labor.

3. The excessive export duties levied by Brazil and the cultivation of a new product—coffee—of which Brazil now a monopoly.

4. The decline in price, and the unsuccessful competition with plantation rubber.

The increased production of rubber naturally comes from the increased planted area as well as from the increased productivity of each planted acre. In 1920, in the whole Middle East, 120,000 acres were planted with "Havia Brazilian." During the period of 1906-1920 the planted acreage increased on the average of 250,000 acres yearly. According to the India Rubber Journal of January 16, 1925, the planted area increased to 4,915,000 acres. In 1910 the yield per acre was 157 pounds, today it is 346 pounds in the British Malayan estates and 334 in the Dutch East Indies.

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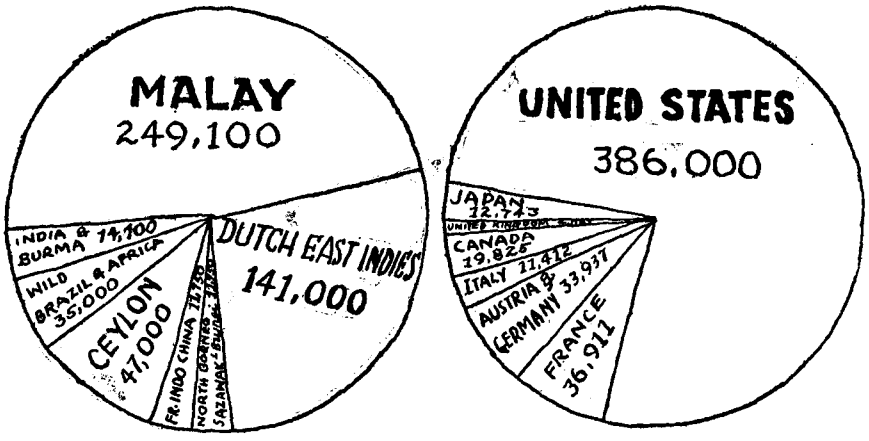
World's Production and Consumption of Crude Rubber in 1925.
(in long tons)



Total world production.....505,000 tons
Total world consumption.....504,889 tons

4.—WORLD CONSUMPTION OF RUBBER.

The industry that consumes the largest share of the world's rubber is the tire industry. In 1911, America produced 209,974 automobiles; raw rubber consumed by the automobile industry in the same year was 3,300 tons or 10% of the rubber imported into the United States. In 1925 we produced 4,175,365 automobiles and raw rubber consumed for tires was 320,380 tons or 83% of the total rubber imported into the United States, which is approximately 66% of the world's consumption for all purposes. The increased consumption of rubber manifests itself, not only in the outomotive industry, but in other industries as well. The increased consumption of rubber is not due to America alone, although America has the largest automotive industry. Out of the world's total of 24,564,574 automobiles, 19,964,347 or 85% are in the United States. The increased consumption of rubber is also true of other countries.

A factor in the increased American demand of crude rubber in the last two years was the wholesale adoption of the balloon tire, which requires from one-fourth to one-third more rubber than the high pressure type. The production of balloon tires during 1925 was equal to more than one-half the output of cord and fabric tires combined. Another factor is the increased production of buses. The rubber consumed by one bus is equal to that used in twelve passenger cars.

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5. THE IMPORTANCE OF RUBBER.

The importance of rubber can be analyzed for two periods.

1—In time of peace.

2—In time of war.

At the beginning of this article we gave a general view of the uses of rubber. In the United States a few very important industries depend on that raw material. One of these is the automobile industry, one of our largest national enterprises depending on rubber for its tires.

The importance of the automobile is well known. Not only does the automobile serve our local needs, but lately it has begun to compete successfully with railway and street car transportation. Each of the 20 million automobiles in the United States requires five tires yearly. The average yearly rate of increase of automobiles since 1920 is 20%. Here we have stressed only the importance of the automobile in time of peace. How about wartime?

"It was the use of motor transportation on a large scale which enabled Marshal Foch to hammer the enemy army into fragments." (Delaise, Oil and Its Influence on Politics, p. 29.)

How did this come about?

"During the defense of Verdun, situated at the end of a wretched railway, the destruction of many railway lines and the inadequacy of the system behind the front, led the generals to transport their troops more and more frequently by motor lorry." (De La Tremerye, The World Struggle for Oil.)

The importance of the automobile for war purposes is here clearly emphasized. The automobile is not the only product which depends on rubber. There are other instruments of war in which rubber is essential. Airplane bomb cushions, tires and gas protectors, respirators and helmets for airmen, suits for men on submarines and battleships, hose and tubing for gas attacks, trench pumps, ships, airplane, vacuum cleaners, insulated and water proof material, etc.

"The vital part which all raw materials play in war was amply demonstrated by Germany's predicament during the last conflict, and rubber was one of the things needed most." (The World's Work, February, 1926. Rubber, an International Problem.)

How and where did the United States get its rubber to satisfy its war needs? Harvey Firestone answers this question:

"Mr. Firestone declared that during the war the United States could not get a pound of rubber except by the consent of the British Government." (Far Eastern Review, January, 1924.)

But in case of war with Great Britain, where will the United States get its rubber? It is in this problem that the whole story of rubber is involved. As H. N. Whitford, special agent of the Crude Rubber Department of the United States Department of Commerce, said: "In time of war the conditions might be such that the United States would be cut off entirely from its supplies."

The problem before the United States at present, is to grow rubber to supply its war needs in time of peace as well as in time of war.

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6. THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUBBER PLANTATION WORKERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST (Straits Settlements and Dutch East Indies).

The workers employed on the rubber plantations are Chinese and Indian coolies. They work under the system of indentured labor. The Chinese coolies are recruited in Southern China and hired by a contract which they do not sign nor understand, for a period of from two to three years. The daily wage of the rubber plantation workers in the Dutch East Indies is fourteen cents (American currency) for men, and twelve cents for women.

The aims and character of the system of indentured labor are:

"According to the coolie contract the laborers are subject to laws which compel them to work and prevent them leaving the estate until the expiration of the contract. . . . The laborer is looked on as a pawn to be moved at the will of the administrators." (United States Department of Commerce Trade Information Bulletin No. 27. Rubber Plantations in the Dutch East Indies and British Malay.)

It should be noted that the League of Nations approved the principle of indentured labor in several tropical countries.

The system of indentured labor makes it extremely difficult for the colonial workers to free themselves from the yoke of British and Dutch imperialism. In the Dutch East Indies the labor ordinance provides that the inciting of laborers to desert by furnishing lodging, or engaging of workmen who have no letter of discharge or similar document showing them to be free of liability for service to others, is punishable by a fine of 200 guilders ($72) or one month's imprisonment; natives violating the above provisions are punishable by a fine of 50 guilders ($18) or one month's labor on public works without wages. (United States Department of Commerce Trade Promotion Series No. 2. The Plantation Rubber Industry in the Middle East.)

How do the American rubber imperialists threaten the plantation workers in the Middle East? The largest American owner of rubber plantations in the Middle East is the United States Rubber Company, controlling about 117,000 acres. Below is a brief account of the conditions under which the colonial workers toil on the American rubber plantations.

"The indentured system is still in vogue, and it is hoped in the interest of both laborer and planter that the present system will not be interfered with by legislature. The coolies agree to enter the service . . . . for a period of three years at a fixed wage. If they break the contract and abscond, their employer is protected by his agreement by their arrest and return to the estate." (Annals, March, 1924.)

The United States Rubber Company employs on its rubber plantations a force of 20,000 men, paying them a daily wage, for men 19c gold, for women 17c. The net profit of the United States Rubber Company in 1925 was $17,309,870.

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7. THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUBBER WORKERS IN THE AMAZON REGION.

The conditions of the rubber workers in South America should be considered in two periods.

1—Labor conditions before the world war.

2—Labor conditions after the world war.

Although the conditions of labor differ but slightly in these two periods, yet for a definite reason we must analyze these two periods separately. Up to the end of the first period Brazil was one of the largest producers of rubber and the labor conditions were determined by the rubber-gathering concerns. The Indian workers were not employed on plantations, for no rubber trees were planted in Brazil. The trees grew in a wild state around the Amazon Valley, and the natives had to penetrate the jungle to gather the milky white "Latex." They perfromed this work unwillingly. They were forced to gather the rubber under the threat of death. Whole communities of Indian workers were murdered by the rubber pirates—the Peruvian Amazon Company (a British concern). This is what the British ambassador wrote to the United States secretary of state, May 8, 1911:

> **". . . . there is no exaggeration in the accusations of Mr. Hardenbur (author of "The Lords of the Devils Paradise."—L. P.) In one district, for instance, 40,000 of a population of 50,000 Indians have been either killed outright or tortured to death." (U. S. 62nd Congress, 3rd Session House Document 1366, Slavery in Peru, p. 119.)**

In some cases the Indian was engaged as a laborer and paid in kind. The Indian was forced to take a worthless article for which an exorbitantly high price was charged, and repay with services in rubber gathering. The rubber companies make it impossible for the Indian to repay his debt. By advancing him more goods, he continually served the company.

> **"Say what you will it is nothing more nor less than forced labor, whether it is secured and kept by the rifle or by a system of peonage based on the advances of merchandise . . . ." (I. B. I. D., p. 60.)**

What are the conditions under which the workers collect rubber today? This question has a two-fold importance.

1—These conditions are not limited to the rubber industry. The same conditions prevail on the Brazilian coffee plantations.

2—The Amazon region was recommended by the United States Department of War as the second place where the development of rubber plantations by American capital is advised.

The United States Department of Commerce appointed a special commission to study the possibilities of growing rubber in South America. The commission reported.

> **"As explained elsewhere in the report, the wage system is not in practice in the American rubber industry. The rubber worker is paid according to the amount of rubber he collects. This is placed to his credit and against it are debited the initial advances made to him for transportation. working tools and other supplies and all other subsequet purchases at the company store. If he has a favorable balance at the end of the year he may receive the amount in cash, but it is com-**

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mon to laborers to continue indefinitely in debt to their employer." (United States Department of Commerce Trade Promotion Series No. 23.)

The basic wage in that region is 25-27 cents per day.

8. THE CONDITIONS OF THE RUBBER WORKERS IN BELGIAN CONGO.

The natives of the Belgian Congo, inhabiting a country which is situated in the rubber belt, met with the same fate as the Indian workers of the Amazon region. The rubber industry in the Belgian Congo was in the same state as in South America.

The activities of the rubber imperialists were first known to the outside world, trough their operation in the Belgian Congo. What was said regarding the atrocities of the Peruvian Amazon Company in the Putmayo region, holds good for the rule of King Leopold and the Congo Rubber Company in which he held controlling interest. Rubber was to the Negro what it was to the Amazon Indian.

"The natives of the exploited rubber zones are crushed, broken, sick unto death of the very name of rubber. . . . 'RUBBER IS DEATH' HAS BECOME THE MOTTO OF THE RACES." (E. D. Morell, Red Rubber, p. 150.)

Under this system $68,573,320 worth of raw materials (95% of rubber and the balance of ivory, has been forced out of the Congo natives for six years. The profits of the Congo Rubber Company for that period have amounted to $3,650,000 on a paid-up capital of under $50,000; each share of a nominal value of $100 having receivtd in that period dividends totaling $1,475.

(To Be Concluded in Next Issue)

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THROUGH THE MONTH

INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Feb. 1. The Senate, by a vote of 49 to 27, against President Coolidge's objections, passed the bill appropriating $1,200,000 for the laying down of three new cruisers. The contracts for these cruisers were awarded to private firms at high profit to these firms.

Feb. 7. H. M. Daugherty, former attorney-general, and Thomas W. Miller, former alien property custodian, were brought to trial charged with conspiracy against the government in connection with the return of $7,000,000 property seized during the war.

Feb. 11. The McNary-Haugen "farm relief" bill passed in the Senate by a vote of 47 to 39. This was done by a combination of the bank group and the farm bloc resulting in the passage at the same time of the Branch Bank bill calculated to place the entire banking system of the country completely in the hands of a few great Eastern banks.

Feb. 16. The McNary-Haugen bill passed in the House of Representatives.

Feb. 25. President Coolidge vetoed the McNary-Haugen bill but signed the Branch Bank bill.

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DISARMAMENT.

Feb. 10. President Coolidge issues call for a conference to discuss the question of extending the Washington Disarmament Treaty to light armaments and addresses the call to all great powers.

Feb. 13. Speaking at a dinner of the Republican Club, Secretary of the Navy Wilbur made a plea for a larger army and navy on the ground of necessity to suppress a workers' revolution not only in the U. S. A. but in other countries as well.

Feb. 14. Semi-official reports indicate that France and Italy will reject Coolidge's call for a disarmament conference.

Feb. 21. France and Italy announce their refusal to take part in the disarmament conference called by Coolidge. Japan accepts.

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CHINA.

The imperialist powers, particularly England and America, continued to rush troops to China throughout the month of February. By the end of the month there was already a large force of foreign troops in Shanghai. England had 15,000 troops, the United States 5,000, with the smaller powers having troops in proportion. Over 50 battleships are now concentrated at Shanghai awaiting orders to launch an attack against the Nationalist Revolutionary troops.

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Jan. 31. The Communist International issued a manifesto solidarizing itself with the Chinese revolution and calling upon the workers of the world to do all in their power to support the Chinese revolution by compelling their governments to keep their "Hands off China." The manifesto further points out that after its victory over the miners, the British government is endeavoring to strangle the efforts of the Chinese masses to free themselves from foreign imperialist oppression.

Feb. 1. The representatives of the Nationalist Revolutionary government broke off negotiations with the British government and refused to proceed until all British forces had been withdrawn from China.

Feb. 2. The British cabinet refused to accede to the demands of the Nationalist Revolutionary government for the withdrawal of British forces from China, and continued sending more battleships and troops.

Feb. 4. United States army authorities open campaign for special 1-year enlistments for service in China.

Feb. 5. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America issued a manifesto demanding the withdrawal of American forces from China and the recognition of the revolutionary nationalist government.

Feb. 6. The U. S. state department makes a proposal to the various Chinese forces that a neutral zone be established around Shanghai. Since Shanghai is under control of the militarist Chang Tso Lin, supported by Japan and Great Britain, this would mean perpetuating his control over the city.

Feb. 7. The Communist Party of Great Britain issued a manifesto calling upon the workers to prevent the shipment of troops and ammunition to China.

The Hindustan Gadar (Nationalist) Party in America declared its sympathy with the Chinese revolution and called upon the Indian troops in China not to fire on the Chinese masses.

Feb. 8. After several days of uncertainty and some fighting, the Chinese took complete control of the British concession in Hankow and incorporated it in the city administration of the Nationalist Revolutionary government.

Prominent members of the Nationalist Revolutionary government, in speeches delivered to large audiences, turned down Kellogg's proposal to neutralize the zone around Shanghai. The speakers included Sun Fo, son of Sun Yat Sen, and Eugene Chen, foreign minister.

Feb. 10. The British Labor Party introduced a resolution into parliament deploring the despatch of troops to China, asking for their withdrawal and for the recognition of the Nationalist Revolutionary government.

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Feb. 11. Several thousand workers attended a "Hands Off China" meeting in New York, arranged by the Workers (Communist) Party of America.

Feb. 14. Wu Pei Fu, former ally of Chang Tso Lin, now occupying the province of Honan, refused to permit Chang Tso Lin's troops to pass in their march on Hankow, resulting in conflict between the two forces. It seems that Wu has definitely broken with Chang as a result of the clash between the two over the occupation of Peking. However, there is no indication that Wu has joined the Nationalist Revolutionary forces.

Feb. 17. Hangchow, 60 miles south of Shanghai and the key to that city, was taken by the revolutionary troops after a short battle. The troops of the militarists were completely demoralized as a result of the propaganda in their midst spread by the "slogan companies" of the revolutionary forces.

Feb. 18. Eugene Chen, foreign minister in the Nationalist Revolutionary government, delivered an official answer from his government to Kellogg's proposal. The note indicated "The recovery of China's full independence" as the dominant aim of the Cantonese. "The new China is strong and is conscious of its ability by economic means to enforce its will on Chinese soil." The note further declared that imperialism in China was sharing the fate of all historical systems of political subjections, and that China would never be at peace with its oppressors.

Feb. 20. A general strike was declared in Shanghai in celebration of the victory of the revolutionary troops over Sun Chuan Fang, and to help them in this further advance. Approximately 100,000 workers responded to the call of the Central Labor Union.

Feb. 21. In an effort to suppress the general strike in Shanghai, the militarists resorted to wholesale executions of workers. Any one caught agitating, picketing, speaking, distributing leaflets, or in any other way helping the strike, was beheaded on the spot without further ado. Altogether more than 70 workers fell victims to this brutality.

Feb. 25. The Workers (Communist) Party of America sent an open letter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor asking it where it stands in the struggle of the militant workers against the American government's invasion of China and Nicaragua.

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NICARAGUA. **Feb. 1.** Dr. Vaca, representative in the United States of the liberal government of Nicaragua, issued a statement declaring that the insistence of the United States government upon sending troops to Nicaragua to suppress the government which is recognized by the majority of the population makes a clash between American troops and liberal troops inevitable.

By a strict party vote of 10 to 5, the House of Representatives' committee on foreign affairs adopted the Fairchild resolution endorsing the administration's policy in Nicaragua and Mexico.

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Feb. 2. The Communist International issued a manifesto to the workers of the world assailing the invasion by the United States of Nicaragua. The manifesto points out that the United States has made the countries of Latin America colonies of Wall Street, and calls upon the workers to support the people of Nicaragua against United States imperialism.

Feb. 7. As a result of the continuous liberal victories, Gen. Latimer, commander of the American forces in Nicaragua, was compelled to neutralize more territory—which means, place American troops there to protect the government which the Nicaraguans did not want.

Feb. 8. The Wisconsin Farm Bureau Federation at its annual meeting, adopted a resolution condemning the intervention of the United States government in the affairs of other nations, particularly Nicaragua and Mexico.

Feb. 10. The Ponce Local of the Nationalist Party of Porto Rico adopted a resolution denouncing America's invasion of Nicaragua and the sending of the fleet to Porto Rico. This was done on the occasion of the annual visit of the fleet.

Following reports from Nicaragua that Diaz was willing to resign, the state department declared that it will not demand his resignation.

Feb. 18. What was generally interpreted as a move to take over Nicaragua completely was begun when the United States despatched 1,400 marines and several airplanes to that country, making the total American forces there equal to the liberal army and vastly superior in equipment.

Feb. 21. A formal request was made by Diaz to the United States to establish a protectorate over Nicaragua. This was evidently a move on the part of the state department to gain some popular support among the American people.

Feb. 23. The Porto Rican section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League issued an appeal to the visiting American sailors and marines asking them not to make war on the people of Latin America and pointing out that Wall Street is using them as tools in its efforts to enslave the workers and peasants of Nicaragua.

Senator Borah introduced a resolution into the Senate asking for a Senate investigation of the administration's Latin-American policy during the summer, particularly in Nicaragua and Mexico.

Feb. 24. Great Britain despatched a note to Washington asking for greater protection to British subjects in Nicaragua. This is believed to be prearranged between the two governments in order to give the state department a free hand in Nicaragua. In return, the United States will support Britain in China.

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Feb. 27. Five thousand Nicaraguans in Costo Rica, driven into exile by the American forces, issued a declaration that they would fight to the end against the oppression of Nicaragua by the American government.

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SOVIET UNION. Feb. 22. The government of Great Britain sends a note to the Soviet Union threatening to break off relations on the ground that the Soviet government is conducting anti-British propaganda in Britain itself as well as in the British Empire. Maxim Litvinoff, assistant commissar of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, in a speech in Moscow denies this charge and exposes a plot of Russian emigrants in England together with reactionary British capitalists and politicians against the Soviet Union.

Feb. 24. The Daily Herald, organ of the British Labor Party, criticizes the government very mildly on its anti-Russian policy.

Feb. 25. The governments of Poland and Lithuania, under the direction of England, have signed a secret treaty directed against the Soviet Union.

Feb. 27. Mass meetings called all over the Soviet Union to protest against the British government are participated in by millions of toilers.

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U. M. W. OF A. CONVENTION. Feb. 2. The United Mine Workers' convention adjourned after an eight-day session. The reactionary leadership of Lewis, through the employment of booze, boodle, bribery and strong arm squads, slugging and disfranchisement of left wing and rank and file delegates, and by packing the convention with machine supporters from West Virginia representing non-existent local units, as exemplified by a delegation of 172 representing 377 dues paying members, were in a position to gag the rank and file representation and take complete control of the convention. A strong left wing following was present and, combining forces with the progressive opposition group headed by John Brophy, president of the Central Pennsylvania miners fought militantly for the policies they advocated, i. e. nationalization of the mines under democratic management, six-hour day, five-day week, labor party, national agreement for entire industry, unemployment compensation, democratization of the union and "free press" (U. M. W. A. Journal, conducted as a personal organ of Lewis), organization of the unorganized miners (two thirds of the labor force of the industry). The official steam roller defeated all proposals of the opposition group. The convention, under the control of Lewis & Co., took a decided swing to the right. The convention eliminated from its constitution the objective "that we are organized to secure the full social value of our product" and inserted thereof a meaningless phrase that we are for "an equitable share of our product." Some of the "achievements" of this most reactionary convention were (1) eliminating from the constitution its class struggle objective, (2)

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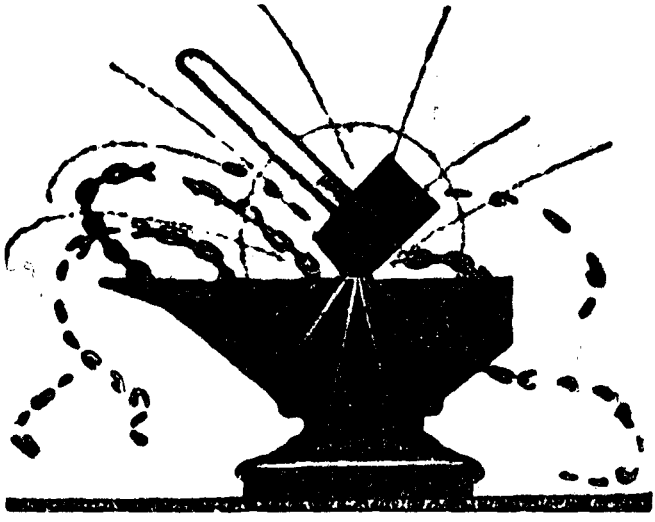
accepting the principle of "worker-employer" co-operation, (3) securing by the bureaucracy of unrestricted control of the union finances through abolishing the right of the membership to decide by referendum if assessments shall be collected, (4) adopting the rule that only American citizens or those declaring their intention can hold any office, though the membership is 85% foreign-born, (5) abolishing every vestige of rank and file control, of democracy, of free speech in the union, (6) increasing their salaries 50%, (7) gaining a greater organizational control of the union through machine tactics, by expulsion, victimization and in general through a campaign of terrorization and elimination of all opponents, (8) referring to the scale committee the all important question of wages, hours and working conditions, instructing the committee to "get the best contract possible on the basis of no reduction in wages," (9) and defeating every constructive proposal that came before the convention.

With a national strike approaching, and the U. M. W. of A. having in its ranks but 176,000 of the 600,000 bituminous miners, with the non-union production placed at 70% of the total tonnage, and with a three-month reserve supply of coal ready, the U. M. W. of A. faces a critical situation, a situation aggravated by the union-destroying tactics of the bureaucrats controlling the U. M. W. of A.



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Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, Etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The Communist published monthly at Chicago, Illinois, for April 1, 1927.

State of Illinois, County of Cook, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared N. Dozenberg, who, having been duly sworn to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the The Communist and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manageri are:

Publisher Workers (Communist) Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Editor Max Bedacht, 1113 W. Washington Blvd.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, N. Dozenberg, 1113 W. Washington Blvd.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stick. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

Workers (Communist) Party of America, 1113 W. Washington Blvd. Non-profit organization.

Jay Lovestone, Secretary-Treasurer, 1113 W. Washington Blvd.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

There are none.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of eah issue of this publication sold or distribuetd, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is .....

(This information is required from daily publications only.)

NICHOLAS DOZENBERG.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of March, 1927.

S. F. HAMMERSMARK.

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